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RESULTS OF THE AUTHOR'S EXPEDITION
TO CELEBES 1917—1920

II.

MIGRATIONS OF THE TORADJA

IN

CENTRAL CELEBES



With 25 Maps

by

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FLANDERS BOKTRYCKERI AKTIEBOLAG

Dedicated

To my friend

Erland Nordenskiöld

with gratitude and esteem.

PREFACE.

In the publication of the present book I have been assisted by a grant from the Swedish Government to whom I beg to express my respectful thanks. The expenses of this work have also been defrayed by the »Långman's Cultural Funds» to the trustees of which institution I also beg to express my respectful thanks.

The maps in this book are founded on the maps of Central Celebes belonging to the work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes», published by the two Dutch missionaries Doctor N. Adriani and Doctor Alb. C. Kruijt who have lived in Celebes for more than 30 years; on the map belonging to the article »De Berglandschappen Napoe en Besoa in Midden-Celebes» by Kruijt in »Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap, Tweede serie, Deel XXV, 2.»; on Schetskaart van een deel van Midden-Celebes, Batavia 1919; on the maps belonging to »Celebes, Proeve eener Monographie» by L. van Vuuren, Batavia 1920; on the map belonging to Hissink's »Nota van toelichting betreffende de zelfbesturende landschappen Paloe, Dolo, Sigi en Beromaro», in »Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde», Batavia 1912.

The geographical names belonging to the native languages of Celebes are spelt in Dutch. The spelling however is often different on different maps that I have consulted, presumably depending on the difficulty to a European ear of catching these strange names when pronounced by the natives. It may also be that the names are differently pronounced by different natives.

The translation into English from my manuscript was carried out by my wife and revised by an English lady.

CONTENTS.

List of Maps	VIII
Introduction	I
I Paloe Toradja	7
To Lindoe	7
To Koelaw	17
To Tamoengkolow, To Tobakoe	23
To Banggakoro	26
To Tawaeha (To Pajapi)	27
To Saesoe, To Balinggi, To Dolago	32
To Parigi	36
The natives of the Paloe Valley	38
To Paloe, To Biromaroe	41
To Sigi, To Dolo	43
To Pakoeli, To Bangga To Baloease, To Sibalaja, To Sidondo	45
Summary of the migrations of the Paloe Toradja	46
II Koro Toradja	52
To Winatoe, To Gimpoe	52
To Tole, To Kantewoe To Peana	56
To Tole	57
To Kantewoe	62
To Peana	65
To Benahoe	68
Summary of the migrations of the To Pipikoro	71
To Bokoe	73
To Bada	75
To Behoa	80
To Napoe	85
To Leboni	90
To Rampi	92
To Rato	93
To Saloe Maoge, To Poeoe mBoto, To Bantjea (- To Binow),	
To Larwonoe	95
Summary of the migrations of the Koro Toradja	102

VIII

III Poso Toradja	106
To Pebato.....	106
To Lage	109
To Kadomboekoe	111
To Rompoe	114
To Peladia	115
To Palande	116
To Wingke mPoso.....	118
To Longkea, To Wisa, To Boejoe.....	121
To Lamoesa	122
To Ondae	123
To Langgeani, To Tawoelongi	135
To Pakambia	139
To Pada, To Watoe, To Kalae, To Tananda	141
To Toraoe.....	143
To Baoc	145
To Lalaco	147
To Ampana, To Wana	148
Summary of the migrations of the Poso Toradja	150
General Summary	153

LIST OF MAPS.

1. Distribution of the Parigi-Kaili, the Poso-Todjo and the Saadang group of languages acc. to Kruijt	165
2. Distribution of the West Toradja, the East Toradja, and the Saadang Toradja languages acc. to Adriani	167
3. Distribution of the Paloe, Koro, Poso and Saadang Toradja acc. to the writer of this book	169
4. Migrations of the To Lindoe.....	171
5. Migrations of the To Koelawi	173
6. Migrations of the To Tamoengkolowi, the To Tobakoc, and the To Banggakoro	175
7. Migrations of the To Tawaelia (To Pajapi).....	177
8. Migrations of the To Saesoc, the To Balinggi, the To Dologo, and the To Parigi.....	179
9. Migrations of the tribes of the Paloe Valley	181
10. Summary of the migrations of the Paloe Toradja.....	183
11. Migrations of the To Pipikoro	185
12. Migrations of the To Bada, the To Rampi, and the To Leboni	187
13. Migrations of the To Behoa and the To Napoe	189
14. Migrations of the To Saloe Maoge the To Poeoe mBoto'tho To Rato, the To Bantjea, and the To Laiwonoe.....	191

15. Summary of the migrations of the Koro Toradja.....	193
16. Migrations of the To Pebato and the To Wingke mPoso	195
17. Migrations of the To Lage, the To Kadomboekoe, the To Rompoe, the To Peladia, the To Palande and the To Poeoe mBana	197
18. Migrations of the To Lamoesa, the To Longkea, the To Wisa and the To Boejoe.....	199
19. Migrations of the To Ondae, the To Langgeani, the To Tawöealongi and the To Pakambia	201
20. Migrations of the To Pada, the To Watoe, the To Kalae, and the To Tananda.....	203
21. Migrations of the To Toraoe, the To Bae, and the To Poeoe mBana	205
22. Migrations of the To Lalaeo, the To Ampana, and the To Wana	207
23. Summary of the migrations of the Poso Toradja.....	209
24. Summary of the migrations of the Toradja in Central Celebes	211
25. Similar languages in the east and in the west	213
List of literature.....	215

Introduction.

Map 1. Map 2. Map 3.

In Vol. I of this series I have in the chapter called »The population of Central Celebes» accounted for the distribution of the tribes known under the common name of Toradja. Already in 1921 in my Swedish book »I Celebes Obygder» I have classified these tribes in four big groups: the *Paloe Toradja*, the *Koro Toradja*, the *Poso Toradja*, and the *Saadang Toradja*. As this classification is somewhat different from the one used by the two Dutch missionaries Doctor N. Adriani and Doctor Alb. C. Kruijt in their great work, »De Bare'e¹⁾-Sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes», I shall below give an account of the difference.

Kruijt on page 3 of Vol. I of the above mentioned work, from linguistic point of view classifies the Toradja as follows:

- I. De Posso'sch-Todjo'sche of Oost-Toradja'sche group;
- II. De Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche of West-Toradja'sche group;
- III. De Sadang group.

Later, when speaking of these groups, Kruijt never uses the names of Eastern and Western Toradja. Adriani, who in Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Spekende Toradja's» treating only the languages of Central Celebes, has the same classification as Kruijt, always used the names of Eastern and Western Toradja languages.

If we study Map 1 and Map 2 at the end of this book we shall find that the area occupied by these groups is not the

¹⁾ This word is the negation of the language. It is customary to name the languages of Central Celebes by their negations. The double *e* in *bare'e*, as Adriani and Kruijt write this word, is pronounced as two very open French *e*, as in the word *près*, making a little pause between them, *bare-e*.

same with the two authors. Especially the Saadang group of Kruijt is very different from that of Adriani, who does not even classify the Saadang group as Toradja languages. On page 4 of Vol. III we read the following that sounds very queer: »Aldus vallen de talen der To-Sada en die der To-Rongkong, dus de 'Toradja's in 'engeren zin, buiten het gebied der Toradjasche talen».

Of course we should have expected the language of the natives that originally were called Toradja, »highlanders», to be a Toradja language, and that another name had been given to the linguistic groups that Adriani calls the Western and the Eastern Toradja languages. The nomenclature has no doubt been a failure when we have to classify the Eastern and the Western Toradja groups as genuine Toradja instead of the Saadang Toradja from whom the name of Toradja was carried over to these groups. From a practical point of view it would at present perhaps be difficult to make a change of terms. Thus in the following, when speaking of the Toradja of Central Celebes, this will only mean the Western and the Eastern Toradja groups.

On Map 3 I have drawn the regions of the big groups according to my idea of the matter. A real classification of the Toradja cannot be based solely on the languages spoken by the different tribes, allowance must also be made for the culture of the tribes, and when these two do not agree we must try to find out which is the original with the tribe, the language or the culture.

The only reliable method when wanting to make clear the kinship of the tribes would be an anthropological research, but no detailed research yet being made we have for the present to content ourselves with the results that can be derived from the study of the languages and the culture.

During my sojourn in the districts chiefly situated on the Koro and its tributaries I found the natives living here distinctly different from the tribes occupying the Paloe Valley as well as those living in the valley basins of Koelawi

and Lindoe. I have classified the former as a special group called the Koro Toradja. Besides I have changed the long name of »Parigi'sch-Kaili'sch» Toradja into the shorter Paloe Toradja, analogical to the names of Poso Toradja and Koro Toradja, referring to the big rivers of the respective districts.

I suppose Kruijt used the name of »Parigi'sch-Kaili'sch Toradja's» because he knew the small district of Parigi on the Tomini Gulf very well and because the Kaili language (Ledo) was the principal language of the northern part of the Paloe Valley. Which tribes are comprised in the name of To Kaili is, however, not stated in the books of Adriani and Kruijt. The latter only says the following on page 4, Vol. I of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's»: »Tot de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche group behooren de Parigiërs aan de Tomini-bocht en de Kailiërs in het Paloe-dal en aan de golf van Paloe.» Adriani on page 350 Vol. III of the same book writes: *Paloesch* (Ledo) de meest verbreide West-Toradjasche taal, ook wel Kailisch genoemd. Er worden echter in Kaili nog andere talen gesproken, zoodat deze benaming ons minder duidelijk voorkomt.»

It is however to be noticed that my Paloe Toradja are not exactly the same as the Parigi-Kaili Toradja of Kruijt or the Western Toradja of Adriani.

All those having studied the Toradja of Central Celebes are of the opinion that they are not the aborigines of this country. Naturally the question of their origin is put to us. Where did they come from to Celebes?

The Toradja are no uniform race, a fact already stated by several authors. As I pointed out in Vol. I of this series two distinctly different types are found in Central Celebes, the majority of the natives being a rather dark brown type with a round broad face and short broad nose, whereas the other less numerous but lighter brown type has a comparatively oval face, the nose being rather long and narrow, straight or slightly curved.

If these two types lived together when they came to Celebes the investigation of the routes by which they spread over Central Celebes will become much simpler than if they came at different times and perhaps from different places. As the dark type without competition is the most common one, the following investigation chiefly refers to this type.

There is however no actual evidence to be presented in favour of the assumption that the two types should have come to Celebes separately. On the contrary there are some facts intimating that the two races were mixed before appearing in Celebes. Elbert, for instance, classifies the natives of the Island of Boeton and those of Moena in two groups, one of which may correspond to the lighter brown Toradja type of Central Celebes, the other one to the darker type.

The migrations of the Toradja in Celebes do not yet seem to have been studied by anybody. Kruijt has only touched upon this question in general terms. In »Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië», (1905) he says the following:

»Volgens de legenden leefden de voorouders der Bare'e-ers aan het Possomeer in een dorp, Pamona geheten. Toen er gebrek kwam aan bowgrond, verspreidden zij zich naar de verscheidene deelen van Midden-Celebes. . . De Sigische afdeeling¹⁾ (To koelawi, To napoe, To bada) beweren af te stammen van een menschenpaar dat langs een liaan uit den hemel op aarde neerdaalde. De plaats waar zij nederkwamen, zou zijn gelegen in het landschap Rampi aan den oorsprong der Lariang. Van hier uit zouden de To Radja's zich naar het Noorden hebben verspreid.»

In »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Kruijt in 1912 writes the following, partly contradictory to the statements above:

»Bij de beide eerstgenoemde Toradja-groepen (the Parigi-Kaili and the Poso-Todjo group) zijn aanwijzingen te

¹⁾ = Kruijt's Parigi-Kaili Toradja.

vinden, die erop duiden dat zij van het Noorden zijn gekomen. Vanwaar de voorouders der Toradja's op Celebes zijn geland, vertelt geen legende. Deze landing moet reeds zoo lang geleden hebben plaats gehad, dat alle overlevering daar omtrent is verloren gegaan, en men den oorsprong van zijn geslacht op Celebes zelf zoekt. Bij eerstgenoemde group, de Posso'sch-Todjo'sche, bestaan twee scheppingsverhalen. Volgens het eene zou de hoogste god twee menschen uit steen gehakt, en boven op een berg geplaatst hebben. Toen nu die god heenging on eeuwigen adem voor deze beide te halen, kwam een den mensch kwaadgezinde geest, die door een flatus die beide steengestalten deed leven.

Naast dit bij de eerste Toradja-groep algemeen bekende verhaal bestaat een ander: de goden lieten een man neer op den berg Wata ngKoeme (van het Tamboke-gebergte), en medelijden hebbende met zijne eenzaamheid, lieten zij ook eene vrouw neer. Dit waren de eerste menschen... Wij hoorden zelfs nog een verhaal, waarin het eerste menschenpaar te Wotoe aan de golf van Bone nederdaalt. Wotoe zou toentertijd Wawoeroe hebben geheeten... toen wij den verteller vroegen: 'Dus uwe voorouders zijn uit het Zuiden gekomen', antwoordde hij met beslistheid: 'neen, uit het Noorden'...

De Toradja's van de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche group gelooven in eene gezamenlijke afstamming van een menschenpaar, dat aan een liaan uit den hemel werd neergelaten. Deze nederlating had plaats te Lamboe, landschap Rampi, dat om die reden de poese ntana, 'de navel van het land', wordt genoemd... In spijt van dit verhaal wijzen de Toradja's van deze groep ook het Noorden aan als de streek, vanwaar zij zich naar het binnenland toe hebben verplaatst.»

These legends seem to indicate that the Toradja of Central Celebes proceeded from south to north. To the statement of a single native that his tribe, in spite of the legends intimating a migration from the south toward the north,

came from the north, cannot be attributed too much power of evidence. It is conceivable that the migration of the Toradja on the whole went toward the north although some tribe or other may have deviated from the main course and owing for instance to environmental conditions finally have proceeded from north to south. We also must remember that the Toradja are no homogenous race but comprises at least two types, one of which may have come from the north.

In order to get an idea of the routes along which the Toradja groups spread over Central Celebes as well as over the basis of the northern and the NE. peninsulas of Celebes I have, as far as possible, tried to find out how each little tribe has moved.

In this investigation the results are chiefly founded on the following grounds:

1. what we actually know of the migrations of each tribe in historical time;
 2. what tradition and legends tell of prehistoric migrations;
 3. the site of the place to which the departed are believed to go, or the direction in which the departed are said to leave their country;
 4. on cultural, linguistical, anthropological or other reasons speaking in favour of kinship between the tribes.
-

I. PALOE TORADJA.

To Lindoe.

Map 4.

There are no legends known from Lindoe touching upon the origin of the To¹⁾ Lindoe and their settlement on Lake Lindoe. Possibly the settling took place so long ago that there is no reminiscens more of that event, or the Europeans who have visited Lindoe have not been successful in their researches, the legends very likely only being known by a few of the natives.

Kruijt is of the opinion that the Lindoe people have come from the Paloe Valley, but he does not tell us his reasons for this assumption.

When I visited Lindoe in January 1919 some natives explained their opinion to be that the To Lindoe had come from the Paloe Valley, but they did not know any legend, indicating such an origin of their tribe. The chiefs or rajas, however, generally are said to have come from Sigi in the Paloe Valley.

These vague presumptions no doubt have very little power of evidence. Too much importance must not be attributed to the statements of several tribes living in the mountains south of the Paloe Valley, tending to show that they are related to the To Sigi. We should particularly take such statements most cautiously, if there are other circumstances intimating another relationship and another origin.

¹⁾ To or tao means in the languages of Central Celebes man as well as men.

As to the Lindoe people there is much speaking against the presumption that they came from the Paloe Valley in the north. The To Lindoe, for instance, do not imagine the land of their departed to be somewhere in the north but they believe it to be on Mount Lantawongoe, situated straight east of Lindoe between Mount Ngilalaki and the path leading from Lindoe to the district of Napoe in the SE. If the To Lindoe originally had lived in the Paloe Valley, we could expect them to transfer the land of their dead to some place north of Lindoe, because very often a people imagine their dead to go back to the place where the tribe originally lived. As the To Lindoe believe their departed to go to Mount Lantawongoe, it may be that the tribe originally lived east of the district of Lindoe.

Some of the legends of the To Lindoe also intimate a migration from the east. Lake Lindoe is very rich in eel which is said to depend on a strange eel that came to Lake Lindoe from the east, and the buffalo that at present is abundant in Lindoe, domesticated as well as wild, also is said to have come from the east.

The legend of the eel is the following. Very long ago there was no eel in Lake Lindoe, and the natives only caught the other two kinds of edible fish, living in the Lake. But one day a man who was out fishing in his canoe suddenly got sight of a long big fish which he succeeded in hitting with his spear. The fish, however, being big and unmanageable, the man thought he had better pull out his chopping knife and cut it into two pieces, but when he did so, the forepart of the eel wriggled out of the canoe into the water and disappeared, and only the tail of the fish was left to the man.

The forepart of the eel soon grew into a proper fish again, only it finally became as thick as a man. This strange fish is said to be still living in Lake Lindoe. It is called *Toempoe masapi*, i. e. the forefather of the eels. From this fish all the eels of Lake Lindoe are believed to gender, and

thanks to it there is still plenty of eel in the Lake. But nevertheless *Toempoe masapi* is no eel in the common sense.

This fish was believed originally to have lived in Lake Rano in the northern part of the district of Napoe where the district is intersected by the Tawaelia. For some unknown reason this creature felt uncomfortable and left Lake Rano and went out tramping. Finally he arrived at Lake Lindoe which pleased him and where he settled for good.

As to the origin of the buffalo I never heard any legends, but the natives in Lindoe were convinced that it had not always lived in the districts round Lake Lindoe, but had come to Lindoe from the districts in the east or the SE., either from Tawaelia or, more likely, from Napoe.

The legend of *Toempoe masapi*, and the origin of the buffalo no doubt point to the east or the SE., whereas I have not heard anything in Lindoe, really speaking in favour of Kruijt's presumption that the To Lindoe came from the Paloe Valley in the north.

Adriani who wrote Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» is not of the same opinion as Kruijt as to the origin of the To Lindoe, since he writes on page 127 the following:

»Het landschap Napoe moet vroeger door de To Lindoe zijn bewoond geweest». Adriani, however, does not inform us of the reasons on which he founded this assumption, and the connection in which he makes this remark, does not give us any hint at all as to his reasons.

When the presumed migration to Lindoe took place cannot yet be decided. All the tales of the exploits in olden times of the To Lindoe are attached to the period when they lived on Lake Lindoe. Very likely they had settled here already on the end of the 17th century, since Valentijn in his big work »Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien» in 1724 mentions among the tribes, ruled by the prince of Tabali, also the To Lindoe the chief of whom was Pongolovoe.

If the To Lindoe had settled in their present district later, there would no doubt be some tales among them, bearing on their migration, but as there are no such tales, the migration very likely must be transferred to a very remote time.

During the period that the To Lindoe have been living on Lake Lindoe, the settlement has changed a good deal, no doubt depending on the nature of the country.

Of course there are no positive statements of the To Lindoe having shifted from one place to another in the Lindoe Valley, but the legends of removals in olden times are so full of details that they no doubt are founded on real facts. Not until 1897 when Adriani and Kruijt visited Lindoe and 1902 when the Sarasins came to Lindoe we have any exact statements as to the site of the Lindoe villages.

The Sarasins after their visit to Lindoe pointed out several facts, unmistakably indicating Lake Lindoe as having formerly occupied a much vaster area than at present. At that time the surface of the Lake of course was much higher than it is nowadays.

When I visited Lindoe I also noticed signs of the Lake having been bigger, but I had no opportunity of measuring the shore lines which are found for instance between the villages of Langko and Tomado, but no doubt the whole plain, extending round Langko as far as to Tomado, has been inundated by the Lake not so very long ago. Presumably the same was the case with the low, wooded land at the SE. part of the Lake where we find the mouth of the Oloe River.

This period of high water, when the Lindoe Island was below the surface of the water, is perhaps not so very remote since in Lindoe there still exist rather detailed stories from this time.

At that time the present villages did not exist, but only three rather big villages on the Lake, or close to it. The villages did not communicate with each other by foot-

paths, but the intercourse was carried on by means of canoes.

One of these villages was called Sindimalei and was said to have been situated on the eastern bank of the Lake, but exactly where nobody seemed to know. Another village was Pongkoe. It had been situated close to the present village of Tomado. The third village was called Wongkobola and had been situated rather high up in the mountains in a valley, leading from Lindoe westward in the direction of Toewa.

The Lake, however, suddenly sank, and the Lindoe people knew why. They told me the following. At the period of high water the Lake did not empty as it does nowadays by the Goembasa into the Paloe River, but by a river, running toward the west, in the neighbourhood of Toewa, emptying into the Mioe, a tributary of the Paloe River. For some reason or other the raja of the evil spirits of the Mioe was displeased with this arrangement. He would not have it that the water from Lake Lindoe mixed with the water of the Mioe. An agreement was made with the raja of the evil spirits of Lake Lindoe that he was to change the outlet of the Lake.

The raja of the Mioe spirits made a spade of gold, and lent it to the raja of the Lindoe spirits who went with his golden spade to the northern part of the Lake where he dug a deep channel in the mountain. By this channel he let out the water of the Lake, and the channel being deep, the water of the Lake sank, and no more water went in the direction of Toewa. If there is a reminiscence of some event in the history of Lake Lindoe at the bottom of this legend I cannot tell, but it does not seem impossible that Lake Lindoe, when its water was much higher than at present, could have emptied by the Haloea River.¹⁾ The source

¹⁾ In this book I have not called this brook the Toewa as I did in my Swedish book »I Celebes obygder«, since the name evidently has been applied to two different waters. Kruijt, for instance, calls the stream just north of Toewa, emptying into the Mioe, the Toewa.

of this river is not far from the village of Tomado. It runs almost straight toward the west in a very deep valley and empties into the Mioe just north of Toewa. I have not myself followed this valley, sometimes used as a short cut from Lindoe to Toewa, but I have heard that the pass between this valley and Lindoe is not particularly high, at all events not higher than, if the above mentioned plains SW. of the Lake were inundated, the Lake could have emptied by the Haloea. A careful geological research would no doubt reveal the developement of the Lake.

As to the names of the three villages they sound rather modern, but by means of archæological researches at the place, we should be able to state whether there have been any villages or not, and if so is the case, finds from these places may be able to give us an idea of the age of the villages.

When the water of the Lake had got a new opening and retired from the old shore, the legend tells that the natives moved from their old villages down to the Lake where they discovered the Lindoe Island. They settled on the Island and by and by four villages arose, part of which still remain.

For a long time the Island was the only place inhabited in Lindoe, the natives being here comparatively well protected against the hostilities of their neighbours. For how long time they lived here is impossible to say, but some tales make it likely that in the middle of the nineteenth century they were still living at the villages on the Island.

By and by the natives settled on the shore. When Adriani and Kruijt visited Lindoe in 1897 there was a number of villages all round the Lake. Mention is made of no less than nine villages: Langko, Pakoe, Bamba, Palili, Sandipo, Loeo, Oloe, and Wongkodono.

To judge from what Kruijt says of the size of these villages, the greater part of the population seem to have been living on the western bank of the Lake. Kruijt says

for instance that Langko was the biggest of the villages, counting fifteen houses as well as a number of paddy barns, whereas Oloe, situated on the SE. shore, where the foot-path leading to Napoe begins, only counted six houses.

Later some changes have been made. At present almost all the inhabitants of Lindoe live at the three villages of Langko, Tomado, and Antja. It is, however, to be noticed that the present Langko is not situated at the same place as the Langko, mentioned by Kruijt. In his later published map he has marked Langko as an abandoned village. When I visited Lindoe in 1918 there were only some fragments of two houses that were said to have belonged to the former village of Langko. This village was at some distance from the Lake, at the path leading to Koelawi, whereas the present Langko is situated much closer to the shore, although in the same tract.

These tales of the former settlements of the To Lindoe do not give us any hints as to the origin of the tribe, they only show us that the settlement has changed in the course of time, the final result being that the eastern bank of the Lake at present is almost abandoned, whereas the western bank is rather densely populated and to a certain extent carefully cultivated.

When we want to form an opinion of the presumed migrations of the To Lindoe, it would no doubt be useful to know the intercourse in olden times, peaceable as well as hostile, between this tribe and their neighbours, as well as the paths along which they communicated with them.

To judge from Kruijt's statements there were when he and Adriani visited Lindoe in 1897 three paths, leading to Lindoe: one from the SW. from Koelawi, one from the SE. from Napoe, and finally one leading toward the north to Sigi in the Paloe Valley. Of this path Kruijt says on page 500 of his account of the journey to Koelawi and Lindoe the following: »Van Lindoe gaat een weg regelrecht naar Bora; gewoonlijk legt men dezen in twee dagen af»,

and on page 523: »Van het Lindoe meer gaat nog een anderen weg» (another path than that leading to Napoe)» regelrecht naar Sigi. Dit pad begint bij het dorp Pakoe, en dit volgende is men in twee dagen in Sigi.»

We get the impression that a brisk intercourse was carried on between the Lindoe people and the natives of Sigi and Bora, and that Lindoe communicated with the Paloe Valley by means of a path, leading straight from Lindoe to Bora and Sigi, as Kruijt just in front of the first quotation says: »Het is duidelijk, dat de eenvoud van dezen Toradjastam, die bij zijn heidendom en zijne onbeschaafdheid is gebleven, verdwenen is door den omgang met de lieden van Paloe. Het verkeer tusschen deze beide plaatsen schijnt namelijk vrij druk te zijn.»

How it was with this path I never could make out, but I doubt that it was of so great importance as Kruijt intimates. If this had been a path, often used by the natives, it seems strange that in 1897 when Adriani and Kruijt, after having payed a visit to the prince of Sigi to ask his permission to go to Napoe over Lindoe, did not take this path, if it had been the common way between Sigi and Lindoe, but took the long and heavy path over Koelawi.

When P. and F. Sarasin in 1902 visited these districts they did not take any path leading straight from the Paloe Valley to Lindoe, and when Grubauer in 1911 wished to gain the Paloe Valley from Lindoe as quickly as possible he made a short cut by following a path from Lindoe to Toewa.

When I visited Lindoe in 1918 and 1919 the natives said there was no proper path, leading from Lindoe to Bora and Sigi, and that there had never been such a path. Of course it was possible to find one's way in that direction, but the difficulties were great. It is a matter of fact that the natives of Lindoe when trading with the people in the southern part of the Valley never took the shortest way but always made a circuit over Koelawi, or they went

straight to the west to Toewa and then turned northward to Pakoeli.

There are no reasons at all, pointing at an intercourse between Lindoe and the Paloe Valley by means of some foot-path leading straight to the north, which is easy to understand, the ground here being very difficult to travel in.

The natives of Koelawi as well as those of Lindoe stated that formerly there was a much frequented path between Lindoe and Toewa. This village was according to the To Koelawi and the To Lindoe, a colony founded by the latter. A couple of kilometers north of Toewa there are some houses, built by natives from Toewa, and surrounded by fields cleared with fire. South of Toewa there are no houses or fields belonging to this village.

The natives of Toewa still speak the same language as the To Lindoe, after its negation called *Tado*. This gives to understand that the foundation of Toewa cannot be of very old date, since the language has not changed. Whether the To Lindoe have migrated as far as to the southern part of the Paloe Valley, I leave unsaid, but it may be that the *Ado* speaking natives of Pakoeli are related to the *Tado* speaking To Lindoe with whom they are on friendly terms and carry on a brisk trade.

As to the wars of the To Lindoe, they seem to have been directed against all their neighbours. According to their own statements they have harassed the tribes in the Paloe Valley, in Parigi on the Tomini Bay, in Behoa and especially in Koelawi. If they had been fighting with the To Napoe, the most feared warriors of all Central Celebes, I could never make out when I was in Lindoe. Presumably the To Lindoe had been the losers, and because of that did not like to speak of it. Kruijt after his visit to Napoe in 1907 has nothing to tell about any battles between the To Napoe and the To Lindoe but in 1912 in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's», when treating the To Napoe, he

mentions a war between this tribe and the To Lindoe. This war no doubt was successful to the To Napoe, since they gave a Napoe girl and a piece of land to a chief who had helped them.

Who were the final winners, the To Lindoe or the To Koelawi, is not easy to say as both tribes claim to be the winners. After all the fighting the To Koelawi at present are more powerful a tribe than the To Lindoe, but rather a great number of natives from Lindoe have settled in Koelawi. This is especially the case of the nobility who have married in Koelawi. It has even gone so far that *Tomampe* who by the Dutch Government was designated the second governor of Koelawi and of the adjacent districts was no pure To Koelawi but a noble from Toewa, thus indirectly from Lindoe. His next man, *Tomai Mampoe*, belongs to a pure Lindoe family.

Whether the To Lindoe have migrated, founding other colonies than that of Toewa I do not know. Nevertheless, if there are such, they no doubt must be very few and of no importance.

If we repeat in a few words what has been said in the foregoing pages it would be the following. It seems most likely that the To Lindoe arrived at the valley basin of Lindoe from the SE., presumably from the district of Napoe. During the period that they have lived in Lindoe, they have moved from one place to another and finally settled in the SW. part of the plain.

From Lindoe the natives went out in almost every direction, attacking their neighbours. Only in the west they have founded a colony, the village of Toewa, and possibly, some small places north of Toewa. In the SW. the To Lindoe were checked by the To Koelawi with whom they finally to a certain extent mixed.

To Koelawi.

Map 5.

As to their origin the To Koelawi know nothing for certain, but they presume to have come to their present country from the tract of Bora and Sigi in the Paloe Valley. There is a legend of the first settlement in Koelawi, the details of which are a bit varied.

Long, long ago, says the legend, all Koelawi was covered by forests, harbouring plenty of game, but nobody lived there.

Some men from Bora once went southward to hunt. Strolling about they finally arrived in Koelawi. But before they reached Koelawi, they had to climb over the wooded Boeloe Momi¹⁾ where at that time no paths were tread. When the hunters had passed the mountains they found in a valley a stream of clear fresh water. Exhausted by the arduous climb they sat down on the bank of the stream to rest and to drink. They expressed their ease by giving out a longspun o.

The hunters stayed for some time at this place, so rich in game, before returning home to Bora. There they boasted of the fine country behind the mountains. Later some other Bora hunters went off to the country in the south where game was said to be in plenty. They had to endure the same difficulties in Boeloe Momi as the previous hunters and were just as exhausted as they when they arrived at the same stream where they sunk down, and in the same manner as the other hunters quenched their thirst with fresh water, giving out the same long o of relief.

The hunters strolled about, and finding the country rich in game and running water they settled there, cutting down forest, burning it and sowing in the ashes. They called the country Koelawi after a big tree with enormous leaves.

¹⁾ Boeloe means mountain in the Koelawi language.

Nowhere else was such a tree found, and in all Koelawi there was but this one specimen. The stream where the hunters had rested after having passed Boeloe Momi they simply called the O, the exclamation of ease that they gave when first reaching this water.

When Adriani and Kruijt in 1897 visited Koelawi, they heard the same legend, only somewhat different. The men who first came to Koelawi were no ordinary hunters from Bora but a Bora prince who had married at Toewa north of Koelawi. On the hill in the middle of the valley basin of Koelawi, the so called Bolapapoe Hill, he found a strange tree with only two very big leaves, the one turned to the north, the other to the south. Beneath these gigantic leaves the prince was said to have founded the two villages of Bolapapoe and Lemoe, situated one at each side of the Bolapapoe Hill. The country was named Koelawi after the tree.

Vainly I asked the natives of Koelawi for details of this marvellous tree. They seemed to know nothing else than that there was no such a tree anymore. The stream was said to be the same that still is called the O, which we find in the valley between the Sibaronga Chain in the east and the Bolapapoe Hill in the west.

Kruijt is of the opinion that this legend proves that the To Koelawi migrated from the Paloe Valley in the north and settled in the present district of Koelawi. I want, however, to call the attention to some statements of this legend not agreeing with reality. According to Kruijt's version of the legend the hunter was a prince from Bora who was married at Toewa. Then Toewa should be older than Koelawi which almost surely is not the case. But even if the hunters came straight from Bora, the story is strange.

If we approach Koelawi from the north the O is not at all the first stream that we meet after having climbed over Boeloe Momi. We first have to cross the R. Sida-onta which is just as big as the O, and later a great num-

ber of small streams, before arriving at the Koelawi Valley. And even then the O is not the first stream that we meet, but we have to wade across a rather strong and big brook that later joins the O, before emptying into the Mioe.

In the case that the first inhabitants of Koelawi were hunters in search of game, it seems to me that there is only one direction in which they could have arrived, if the legend should agree with the nature of the country.

If the hunters had come from the east over the high and wild Sibaronga Chain, the O would have been the first water that they met, and from the O they had only a few steps to the Bolapapoe Hill where the strange tree was said to have grown, and where the two first villages were built.

There is another fact speaking in favour of the presumption that the To Koelawi originally came from the east and not from the north. When a native is dead, his spirit is said first to mount the Sibaronga Chain where it lingers for some time before going off to the final abode of the dead, i. e. Mount Ngilalaki, situated still further to the east. Therefore it may be that the To Koelawi in spite of their own legends, pointing at the Paloe Valley in the north, came from the east.

As to the statement of the tale that it was a prince or some hunters from Bora who were the first natives that settled in Koelawi, we cannot attach too much credulity to it. I have mentioned before that it is a matter of fact that all tribes in the mountain districts south of the Paloe Valley, formerly ruled by the princes of Sigi, are very fond of giving to understand that they are related to the natives of Sigi-Bora, and especially to the powerful royal family, even if there is no reason at all for such an assertion.

In another connection Kruijt says that the To Koelawi should be descendants of prisoners, taken during a war with Tana boa in the NE. on the Tomini Gulf. I think, however, that we can leave out of consideration this

war when wanting to discuss the origin of the To Koelawi. Of course it is very likely that they took part in a war expedition against Tana boa, but in all probability this happened only about some generations ago, and because of that we cannot attribute the same importance to it as Kruijt has done. No doubt the To Koelawi existed as a special tribe long before the war with Tana boa. The only influence that this war may have had on the population of Koelawi is, if the To Koelawi brought home a great number of slaves; that the proper To Koelawi were more or less mixed with these slaves.

It is difficult to decide to which part of the plain of Koelawi the migrating natives first arrived, but it appears as if the southern and SE. part had been first settled. Here we find the oldest and most important villages such as Soengkoe, Mataoeë, Bolapapoe etc. Only the village of Namoe, nowadays abandoned, was situated in the north, rather high up in the mountains.

Especially the Bolapapoe Hill seems to have been inhabited at a very early stage, since there are found a great number of ancient remains, such as stone mortars, so called *nondjoe dji*, mortars of the spirits, belonging to an earlier cultural period.

From the Koelawi Plain the natives have spread in nearly every direction. From Soengkoe in the south they have proceeded southward, founding a couple of villages on the hills between the Koelawi Plain and the Mewe Valley, as well as Lanteboe a little more to the south and some small villages as Moenoebola in the Mewe Valley itself.

From Soengkoe or Lanteboe the natives presumably went over the mountains in the SE., until they gained the Toro Valley, no doubt at that time already occupied by another tribe that was subdued by the To Koelawi.

In the south the To Koelawi penetrated deeper and deeper into the Mewe Valley, founding not only the above mentioned Moenoebola, but also Mapaha, situated at the

beginning of the path leading from the Mewe Valley to Toro. Only of late the To Koelawi are said to have settled in Gimpoe in the south the inhabitants of which belong to another tribe.

Beside the founding of these colonies in the south, the To Koelawi made war expeditions in the same direction but still further up the country. They are said to have many a time visited the district of Bada with war. Especially the part, situated in the neighbourhood of the Toeare and the Padanglolo Plain north of the Toeare Valley have been exposed to their attacks.

In the SW. the To Koelawi especially spread on the slopes of the eastern bank of the Mioe. Natives from Boladangko founded some villages higher up in the mountains to the SW., as well as a small village at the foot of Boeloe Langa, just at the spot where you have to wade over the Mioe when you go to Winatoe. This village does not exist at present, but the path still comes down to the little river where it was situated, although at present this only means to make the way longer to the traveller. Still further to the SW. there are a couple of small villages said to be pure Koelawi villages. Finally the To Koelawi have extended their power to Winatoe, this district, however, not being a colony of the To Koelawi. The inhabitants no doubt belong to the same tribe that settled in Gimpoe.

The To Koelawi do not seem to have proceeded still further to the SW., and they are said never to have crossed the Koro River with hostile intents.

Toward the west the To Koelawi never seem to have enlarged their country, possibly depending on the nature of the ground. West of the Mioe Valley there rises a wild mountain district, not very tempting to cultivate. It may also be that the tribe nowadays occupying these mountains, the To Tamoengkolowi, already lived here when the To Koelawi settled in the Koelawi Plain. But close to the plain in the NW. they founded a couple of small villages.

Toward the north they have spread as far as to the slopes of Boeloe Momi, although they had to fight here with the To Lindoe who prevented them altogether from proceeding toward the NE.

The settlement of the To Koelawi in the north has evidently changed somewhat in the course of time. On the banks of the Sidaonta the bare ground speaks of fields, cleared with fire in olden times. Formerly there was a small village here, nowadays not existing. Of late the To Koelawi have begun clearing fields with fire on the mountain slopes not far from the old fields.

If we sum up what has been said in the foregoing pages it would be that the To Koelawi most likely came to their present country from the east. When they had passed the Sibaronga Chain, they arrived at the plain and at the Bolapapoe Hill where they built their first villages. An archæological research of this hill would no doubt reveal its earliest history.

From here they spread all over the plain, cultivating the ground and founding villages such as Mataoeë, Soengkoe, Lili, and Namoe.

From the proper valley of Koelawi the natives have by means of colonisation as well as by war enlarged their territory in various directions. In the south they seem to have met with no difficulties, since they were able to make themselves masters of the Toro Plain, the whole of the Mewe Valley, and even Gimpoe as well as the eastern slopes of the Mioe Valley as far as to Winatoe. In the west and in the north they were less successful in their attempts to enlarge their country.

We find a single Koelawi colony in N. Celebes where some To Koelawi have settled for instance at Toli Toli, Onka, and other places.

To Tamoengkolowi, To Tobakoe.

Map 6.

The next neighbours of the To Koelawi to the west are the To Tamoengkolowi who have been strongly influenced by the To Koelawi as to the culture but who, nevertheless, do not seem to be directly related to them.

I do not know anything as to the origin of the To Tamoengkolowi, and I have not heard any legends that might have given us some hints as to their migrations. Nor did I hear anything of their ideas of the land of their departed that might have helped us to disentangle the problem of their origin.

The To Tamoengkolowi may, however, be related to the inhabitants of Tobakoe, living further to the SW. The *Dompa* language of Tamoengkolowi is said to be much like the *Ompa* of the To Tobakoe.

According to Adriani, the To Tobakoe should speak *Oema*, the language of the districts on the Koro, generally called Pipikoro. This is, however, a mistake. The natives of Tobakoe on the contrary have great difficulty in understanding the *Oema* of Kantewoe, whereas they easily understand the *Dompa* of Tamoengkolowi. The negation of *ompa* is said to have engendered from a *dompa*, that has dropped its *d*. This *d*, however, seems to have been dropped in comparatively modern times, since we now and then in Tobakoe hear the negation *dompa* instead of *ompa*.

When I visited Tobakoe I heard nothing of the origin of the natives of that district. A closer study of the language would no doubt give us an idea of the consanguinity of this tribe. I want, however, to call the attention to the fact that *ompa*, and still more the *dompa* of Tamoengkolowi, reminds one much of certain negative expressions of the Iindoe language and the languages of the most southern part of the Paloe Valley. Part of these expressions is a *do* which, according to Adriani, should be the proper nega-

tion. This *do* is said to be used in Lindoe as well as in the Paloe Valley in connection with a word *pa*, meaning yet, thus *do pa* means not yet. This *dopa* may be the same as the *dempa* of Tamoengkolowi.

The culture of Tamoengkolowi has evidently, as I have already mentioned, been much influenced by Koelawi, but in Tobakoe we find much reminding us of the Paloe Valley, as for instance the dress of the women and their hair-dressing. It is also to be noticed that the small temples of Tobakoe of so called Towoeloe type are called by the same name, *sooe eo*, as certain small temples of the Paloe Valley.

As the culture of the To Tobakoe is essentially different to that of the *Oema* speakers, their neighbours in the south and in the SE., I think it most likely that the To Tobakoe as well as the To Tamoengkolowi emigrated from the southern part of the Paloe Valley, following toward the south the mountain slopes on the western bank of the Mioe as far as to the valley of Towoeloe, where they founded the big village of Towoeloe, and not far from this village the small village of Bangkoe, very likely the same village that on Kruijt's map is called Monogaoe. In the SE., but on the northern bank of the Koro, there are some small dwelling places such as Moeri, Totoentowi, Oeëono.

From Towoeloe the natives have proceeded toward the NW., founding the village of Tipe and its colonies as for instance Watoe Padjoe. They have also followed the Towoeloe Valley toward the Koro, crossed this river and founded several villages as Siwongi, Lomo, Biro, Kanoena, Loempo, Kalobokoe baroe, Kalobokoe toea, and Lawe.

Some of these villages have of late gone to decay, chiefly depending on the Dutch authorities who want to concentrate the natives of Tobakoe at the two chief villages, Siwongi and Towoeloe.

As to the settlement of the To Tamoengkolowi, it is to be noticed that the chief village, called Tikala, that in

every respect has the appearance of an old village, yet cannot be so very old, at least not more than two or three generations. What Adriani writes in a note in Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's«, thus cannot be correct. We read the following of the meaning of the name of Koelawi:

»De naam Koelawi weten wij niet met zekerheid af te leiden, doch wij wagen de gissing dat hij eene verkorting is van Tamoengkoe Lawi of Moengkoe Lawi... Ook in Koelawi zelf is een dorp Tamoengkoe Lowi. Wellicht heeft dit vroeger Tamoengkoe Lawi geheten en is dan als het stamdorp te beschouwen.»

There never existed any village in Koelawi called Tamoengkolowi, but as we already know, there is a district west of Koelawi of that name. But even there we do not find any village called Tamoengkolowi, the chief village of the district being Tikala. This village is not the oldest. Further to the west on the top of another still higher mountain ridge was situated the old chief village of the district. Long ago it had been destroyed by fire. Of this village there was in 1919 nothing left but some very high old coconut palms, indicating the site of the village. The place was only called *papoe*, alluding to the fire, *papoe* meaning burnt. The real name of this village I never heard, but it may be that it was Tamoengkolowi. But even if it had been called so, the conjecture of Adriani as to the origin of the name of Koelawi cannot be correct, since the two districts in question are occupied by two quite different tribes.

In this connection I want to mention that the chief village of Koelawi, Bolapapoe, originally, in all probability, had another name. Bolapapoe only means a burnt village (*bola* = village; *papoe* = burnt). This name the village got after having been altogether burnt down by the To Lindoe in the eighteen fifties. According to some natives in Koelawi the old village, before it was destroyed by fire, was called Koelawi after the strange tree with only two big leaves.

To Banggakoro.

Map 6.

Further down the Koro NW. of Tobakoe we find a little district called Banggaiba or Banggakoro with a small population. To this district, properly, only belong two small villages: Banggaiba or Banggakoro and Pantalawi, both situated on the left bank of the Koro.

When the Dutch captain Boonstra van Heerdt visited these tracts in 1910, Banggakoro only counted four houses, situated close to the shore. Pantalawi that was at a considerable distance from the River had five houses.

Later, for some reasons or other, the natives of Banggakoro shifted over to the right bank of the River where they built a new village of carefully made houses, situated just opposite to the old village. When I visited Banggakoro in 1918 the natives had left the new village and gone back to live at the old one. Here and there in the neighbourhood there were fields, cleared with fire.

From where the natives of Banggakoro have come is difficult to say. Their external appearance reminds one of the To Tobakoe, their culture seems mostly to be borrowed from the Mamoedjoe coast in the west, Tobakoe in the SE., and the Paloe Valley in the NE.

It is no wonder that the influence from the coast should be strong here, since Banggakoro, at least at certain times of the year, is able to communicate with the coast by means of canoes along the Koro, or as it is called here the Lariang. The journey is said to take two days. Housekeeping utensils and many other necessities seem mostly to have come from the coast.

Their religious ideas and their habits seem more to resemble those of the To Tobakoe, which is easily accounted for. Before the Dutch arrived on the scene in the beginning of our century, the natives of Banggakoro were ruled by the chief of Tobakoe.

It seems, however, as if the To Banggakoro have some things in common with the natives of the Paloe Valley. As far as I can judge from my short visit to Banggakoro, the natives not only resemble the To Tobakoe but also the tribes of the Paloe Valley. With this valley Banggakoro communicates by a direct foot-path in the NE., following the valley of the R. Sakoeri to the tract of Pakoeli, where the Sakoeri empties into the Mioe, immediately before this river joins the Paloe River.

Did the natives of Banggakoro come from the coast of the Macassar Strait in the west, or did they come from Tobakoe in the SE., or from the Paloe Valley in the NE.? For my part I think most likely that they migrated from the most southern part of the Paloe Valley, following the above mentioned valley of the Sakoeri, until they gained the mighty River Koro. One thing that speaks in favour of this presumption is that in the most southern part of the Paloe Valley there is a small district called Bangga, situated near the lower part of the Sakoeri Valley. We may conceive that some natives from this Bangga of the Paloe Valley migrated to the SW., founding a colony on the Koro. Their new home they called by the name of their old district, but being situated on the Koro, they called it Banggakoro.

A study of the language of Banggakoro and that of Bangga in the Paloe Valley would no doubt be able to decide whether the To Banggakoro came from the Valley or not.

To Tawaelia (To Pajapi).

Map 7.

In a valley north of Napoe on the upper R. Tawaelia lives a small tribe that Adriani, considering their language, refers to the West Toradja or, as I have called them, the Paloe Toradja.

As I have not visited this tribe myself, I shall in the

following pages give a short account¹ of what Adriani and Kruijt have to tell us of the origin of this tribe.

For linguistic reasons Adriani and Kruijt, as mentioned before, consider the To Tawaelia as well as some small fractions at other places to be the last remainders of a tribe, once numerous and mighty, called the To Pajapi or Palapi. In their great work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's», they have made a summary of what they know of the To Pajapi and their descendants.

They say that in olden times the To Pajapi were a tribe of great importance, living in the SE., not far from Lake Poso. At this remote time their chief village should have been Wawo Pajapi. It was situated just east of the Poso, between the present villages of Batoe Nontjoe and Saodjo. Wawo Pajapi, however, is not given on the maps of Central Celebes, not even on those compiled by Kruijt. For this reason I have only been able to mark out approximately the site of this village¹).

Kruijt is of the opinion that the Poso Toradja still were concentrated to the districts round Lake Poso when the To Pajapi lived at Wawo Pajapi. With the Poso Toradja, at that time called To Dongi,²) the To Pajapi were constantly at war. In this Kruijt sees a proof of the To Pajapi and the To Dongi not being related to one another.

Finally the To Pajapi had the worst of it and left the eastern bank of the R. Poso, not only crossing this river but also the Poena River further to the west. They settled at the foot of the high mountain chains of the interior. Here there are said still to be found remainders of the stone banks, once surrounding their villages. The so called To Dongi, however, still haunted them, and they had to move further to the north.

¹) On Kruijts map there is a village Boejoe mPajapi in Palande, not mentioned in his book.

²) To Dongi only means the people living at Dongi or Lake Poso. According to Kruijt Lake Poso is by some natives called Rano Dongi. Rano means simply lake and mostly the name is shortened to Rano.

Also in the district, at present occupied by the To Pebato, the To Pajapi must have had some villages. Among other relics here from the time of the To Pajapi, Kruijt mentions some graves of To Pajapi chiefs. These graves are made of piled up stones.

The last inhabited villages of the To Pajapi were Pekaintoe, Tosoepe, and Masooe, all situated on the lower Poena. The natives of Pekaintoe were said to have lived at a village called Nakota Angga before they came to Pekaintoe.

According to Kruijt the To Pajapi were a quarrelsome people, not only quarrelling with their neighbours but also between themselves. It often happened that they asked their neighbours to help them to fight an antagonist of their own tribe. The result was that the tribe was shattered, the number was reduced, and finally it altogether broke down.

From the time of these disputes between the To Pajapi, there is a story, telling that the tribe parted in two, one part leaving the country and migrating to Boedoe Boedoe south of Donggala on the Macassar Strait.

The most dangerous of the neighbours of the To Pajapi seem to have been the To Napoe who are said to have destroyed the village of Masooe.

After all these experiences of reverses the remaining To Pajapi coalesced in the country on the small River Kilo, between the R. Tambarana and the R. Poena. But even here they did not find a safe retreat. They were harassed by the To Parigi in the north as well as by the To Sigi in the NE.

Finally the To Pajapi succumbed to an attack, arranged by the chief of the To Parigi. He persuaded the To Ondae as well as the To Wingke mPoso to take part of an expedition against the To Pajapi and the chief fortress of the To Pajapi, near the Kilo, was destroyed.

The remaining To Pajapi spread in various directions;

especially they settled in Saoesoe, Dollago, and Parigi. Part of the To Pajapi were overcome by the To Sigi in the neighbourhood of the Tambarana and brought to Sigi as prisoners. This final plot, sealing the fate of the To Pajapi, took place, according to Kruijt, in the eighteen thirties. He writes in 1912 the following of the fractions of the tribe of the To Pajapi:

»In eene nederzetting, aan de Tambarana-rivier, in Saoesoe en in Parigi vonden wij enkele nakomelingen van dezen merkwaardigen stam, een achttal bij elkaar, maar deze overlevenden bewaarden dan ook de taal hunner vaders (het Baria) als een schat. Het kleine volkje van Tawaelia ten Noorden van Napoe moet ook van To Pajapi afstammen.»

When the still Baria speaking To Tawaelia settled in their present district, is of course difficult to say, but according to the legends, put down by Adriani and Kruijt, it must have been during the period when the To Pajapi chiefly occupied the western bank of the Poena, and when Masooe and Tosoepi were their most important villages. The legend tells that the To Pajapi at that time were ruled by two mighty chiefs, a brother and a sister, he residing at Masooe, she at Tosoepi. Once there was a quarrel between these two that ended by the sister's leaving the country, accompanied by a great number of natives. They followed the R. Tambarana to its source in the neighbourhood of the source of the R. Tawaelia and are said finally to have reached Boedo Boedo on the Strait of Macassar. The same legend tells that some To Pajapi stopped in the district round the upper Tawaelia and became the ancestors of the present To Tawaelia, according to Adriani only a tribe of about 300 individuals.

According to Kruijt, as mentioned before, the final disaster of the To Pajapi probably happened in the eighteen thirties when their fortress on the Kilo was destroyed and they were killed or scattered.

The To Pajapi, however, before they were defeated, no doubt had risen to a certain degree of power and opulence after their earlier adversities, or it would not have been necessary to the comparatively powerful To Parigi to ask three tribes to help them to crush the To Pajapi.

But the power of the To Pajapi when they lived on the R. Kilo certainly was not the result of the efforts of a single generation, but perhaps that of two, three generations or even still more.

I therefore am inclined to think that the concentration of the To Pajapi on the Kilo can hardly have taken place later than in the middle of the 18th century, or perhaps already during the first part of it.

The period when the To Pajapi lived at Masooe and Tosoepi must be transferred to a still more remote time. They cannot have lived there later than during the first part of the 18th century. Whether the migration of the To Pajapi to Boedo Boedo over Tawaelia took place during this period at Masooe and Tosoepi is of course difficult to say, but I do not think we make a mistake if we give this migration account for the loss of the power of the To Pajapi west of the Poena. Under these circumstances the migration in question is likely to have taken place during the later phase of their period in the district west of the Poena, i. e. sometime during the first part of the eighteenth century or possibly at the end of the seventeenth.

I have ventured this rather hypothetic settling of the time of the last disaster of the To Pajapi in order to be able to connect their migrations with those of other tribes in Celebes. A satisfactory knowledge of the date of the To Pajapi's sojourn in different districts we could only get by means of an archæological examination of their different settlements and the graves that are said to have belonged to them.

What we know at present is only this. The To Pajapi originally lived in the SE. part of Central Celebes from

where they were forced more and more to the NW., until finally certain fractions of the tribe settled in a far away mountain district of NW. Central Celebes. A little portion of the tribe is said even to have reached the Strait of Macassar.

To Saoesoe, To Balinggi, To Dolago.

Map 8.

In the districts of the coast between the R. Tambarana and Parigi, i. e. in Saoesoe, Tana boa and Dolago, there seem to have been great changes of comparatively late date in the population.

Adriani for linguistic reasons refers the tribes that live here to what I have called the Paloe Toradja (West Toradja acc. to Adriani, Parigi-Kaili Toradja acc. to Kruijt). Unfortunately Adriani and Kruijt are of different opinion as to the language of the tribes in question. At least in 1898 Kruijt says that they are Poso Toradja, thus Bare-e speakers.

The culture, at least of the three later decades, seems to have much in common with that of the Poso Toradja. It is also to be noticed that the temple of Saoesoe was of pure Poso type.

In the following pages I am going to try to make clear which tribes have lived in these districts and from where they came, leaving out of consideration whether they are more closely related to the Paloe Toradja or to the Poso Toradja.-

The present inhabitants of Saoesoe and Dolago speak two dialects of a language, referred by Adriani, as mentioned before, to the class of languages, spoken by the Paloe Toradja. Between these two districts there is a district called Tana boa, almost uninhabited. Tana boa means *unsettled country*.

According to Kruijt it has not always been so. About 50 years ago it was occupied by a tribe, the To Balinggi, at present uprooted by the tribes of the adjacent districts. There is much speaking in favour of the idea that the To Balinggi were closely related to the To Saoesoe, perhaps they even belonged to the same tribe as these. As to the language of the To Balinggi very little seems to be known, but Kruijt quotes a strange tale of a To Balinggi girl who, when she was persuaded by the To Parigi to betray her own country, answered them very indecorously. Her answer is rendered by the To Parigi in a tongue that makes it evident to Kruijt that the To Balinggi were related to the To Saoesoe. He says the following: »De Balinggiërs waren dus van dezelfde afkomst also de Saoesoeërs.»

According to the To Saoesoe, Tana boa should have belonged to them, and the natives of Tana boa should have been their subjects. At that time the whole people were called the To Lopontato after a village Lopontato, situated in the mountains. I have not been able to mark this village on my map, since it is not to be found in any other map. The To Lopontato were said to have spoken a language that was an intermediate between the language of Saoesoe and that of Parigi.

As the To Dolago, according to Adriani, speak a dialect, nearly related to that of Saoesoe, presumably the To Balinggi, the To Saoesoe and the To Dolago during a period that is not so very remote were *one* people that later split into three tribes in the districts between the Tambarana in the south and Parigi in the north.

The To Saoesoe as well as the To Balinggi should, according to Kruijt, have come from the SE. In Vol I, page 6, of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's», he says: Enkele overleveringen vertellen, dat de Saoesoeërs en Parigiërs uit het stroomgebied van de Posso zouden zijn gekomen, na de scheiding van uit Pamona.»

Of the origin of the To Balinggi, Kruijt in his account

of his journey with Adriani in 1897 to Koelawi and Lindoe, writes as follows: »Een dertigtal jaren geleden werd deze landstreek» (Tana boa) »bewoond door Bare'e-sprekende¹⁾ menschen, die naar hun voornaamste dorp Tobalinggi werden genoemd. Men zegt, dat deze menschen afstamden uit het landschap Rompoe, ten Oosten van Lage gelegen. De To Pebato zeggen, dat zij in Tana boa ook een groot dorp hebben gehad, Langanesi genaamd.»

When this migration took place is of course impossible to say at present, but I think it must be referred to a rather remote date, at least before the time of the To Pajapi's migration toward the NW.

If the inhabitants of Saoesoe and Tana boa had come from the SE. at the time when the To Pajapi were settled west of the Poena, or when they lived in the tracts on the Kilo, we should expect to have found a number of legends, touching upon the wars between these two tribes.

That Saoesoe and Tana boa only were occupied after the ruin of the To Pajapi is almost unconceivable. It seems most likely to me that the migration of the ancestors of the To Balinggi and the To Saoesoe took place at the same time when the To Pajapi moved toward the NW., presumably immediately before the migration of the To Pajapi, if not the ancestors of the To Balinggi and the To Saoesoe were of the same stock as the To Pajapi.

Of the fate of the To Balinggi and of their final ruin Kruijt gives us some information in his account of the above mentioned journey in 1897, but his statements are so contradictory that it is almost impossible to find out how it happened that the To Balinggi broke down altogether.

On page 390 he says that the To Balinggi of Tana boa from the very beginning were harassed by the To Parigi who dirtied their water and their melons. Because of this

¹⁾ This is no doubt a mistake, since in 1914 Adriani in Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» does not refer the Saoesoe language to the Bare-e languages but to the West Toradja languages.

they made up their mind to move from Tana boa. They brought their women and children to the mountains and levied war against the To Parigi whom they defeated. After having revenged themselves on the To Parigi, they went with their families to Sigi where they founded the village of Petimbe. Thus the To Balinggi left their country of their own accord. But on page 393 we read the following: »Later verwoestte Sigi met behulp van Saoesoe het ovrigé Tana boa om Parigi te treffen in zijnen vasalstaat Balinggi.»

Here we thus are told that the To Balinggi in Tana boa was a vassal state of Parigi, and that Tana boa was ruined by the To Sigi, assisted by the To Saoesoe. But if we go on we read on the same page as follows: »Om de eene of andere ons onbekende reden was de vorst van Parigi op deze lieden» (the To Balinggi) »vertoorné, en wilde hun den oorlog aandoen. Hij durfde evenwel niet openlijk voor zijn voornemen uitkomen, uit hoofde van den bloedverwantschap tusschen Balinggiërs en Parigiërs. Daarom riep hij de hulp in van den vorst van Sigi, om zich achter dezen verbergende, zijn plan ten uitvoer te brengen. De beide vorsten spraken af, gezamenlijk met hun legers naar Tana boa op te trekken: Sigi van uit het binnenland, Parigi met zijne vloot van de zeezijde. De forst van Parigi voldeed niet aan deze afspraak, maar bleef te huis, zoodat de Magaoe van Sigi alleen in Tana boa verscheen. Hij verwoestte de negorijen, doode vele inwoners en nam de ovrigén als krijgsgevangenen mede naar Sigi.»

Thus on the same page Kruijt says that the To Sigi destroyed Tana boa in order to injure the To Parigi, the masters of the To Balinggi of Tana boa, and that Parigi asked Sigi to ruin the To Balinggi. Before he has told us that the To Balinggi after having revenged themselves on the To Parigi voluntarily left Tana boa.

On page 122 Vol. I of the »Bare'e-Sprekende Toraja's» Kruijt tells us something else of the village of Petimbe. We read the following:

»Hier en daar treffen wij ook kolonies aan, die niet op zoo vreedzame wijze zijn ontstaan. Om ons alleen bij de Bare'e-Toradja's te houden, noemen wij b. v. het dorp Petimbe, niet ver van Sigi's hoofdplaats Bora. De lieden van dit dorp zijn oorspronkelijk To Pebato; deze worden zoodanig door de Parigiërs geplaagd en gebrandschat dat zij geen anderen uitweg wisten dan gezamenlijk naar Sigi te verhuizen en zich onder de bescherming te stellen van het landschapshoofd aldaar.»

What are we to believe? Are the inhabitants of Petimbe To Balinggi, To Pebato or perhaps something else?

Of the To Dolago Kruijt says in 1898 that Dolago formerly was an independant dominion, ruling Parigi as well as Pelawa. At that time the To Dolago and the To Balinggi were considered to be of great importance among the tribes. At present there are only three Dolago villages. One is called Dolago and another »Dolago boven Pasindjowa«. Between these two there was a third village, the name of which is not mentioned by Kruijt. The old village of the To Dolago was Takoebongoe, situated further up the country. From that village the princes of Parigi, Sigi, and Paloe are said to have come.

If this statement is correct, the To Dolago once must have been a tribe of great power that expanded toward the west, the NW., and the north, i. e. in the direction from the SE. to the NW.

To Parigi.

Map 8.

Parigi is a district situated north of Saoesoe on the coast of the Tomini Gulf. In »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» we read on page 4 the following lines: »Of de Parigiërs afkomstig zijn uit het Paloe-dal, dan wel of het Paloe-

dal van uit Parigi is bevolkt, kunnen wij niet zeggen.» But if we go on to page 6 of the same book, Kruijt is of opinion that the To Parigi came from the Paloe Valley, writing as follows:

»Langs het strand van de Tomini-bocht komen wij eerst in Saoesoe weer in aanraking met de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche groep (Tokorondo, Tambarana en andere tusschen Posso en Saoesoe gelegen nederzettingen zijn onbeduidende koloniën van Parigiërs en anderen). Taalkundig weder moeten Saoesoeërs en Parigiërs gerekend worden tot de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche group, maar ook hier merken wij vooral in woordenschat eene groote overeenstemming op met de Posso'sch-Todjo'sche group. Enkele overleveringen vertellen dat de Saoesoeërs en Parigiërs uit het stroomgebied van de Posso zouden zijn gekomen, na de scheiding van uit Pamona. Zij zouden toen van het Meer een sinagoeri-plant hebben medegenomen. Van dezen struik gaat het verhaal, dat hij een boom werd. Deze boom van het Meer nu werd in Parigi aangewend als hoofdpaal van het huis van het landschapshoofd. Het vermoeden is echter gewettigd, dat de Parigiërs oorspronkelijk van de Paloe-baai zijn overgekomen, evenals de ten Noorden van hen wonende menschen van Ampibabo, die nog zuiverder de kenmerken dragen van de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche group.

Nauwe familiebetrekkingen van zeer ouden datum tusschen de Toradja's van Posso en de Saoesoeërs en Parigiërs wijzen er op, dat reeds heel vroeg veel omgang heeft bestaan tusschen deze stammen van beide groepen, waaruit wederom het gemengde type van de Parigiërs wordt verklaard.»

How Kruijt from this is able to draw the conclusion that the To Parigi came from the Paloe Valley I do not understand. He begins by saying that he does not know whether the To Parigi came from the Paloe Valley, or if the Valley was peopled from Parigi. Then he states that certain legends tell that the To Parigi came from the SE. and that from olden times the Parigi families were closely related to

the Poso Toradja, and yet he considers the assumption justified that the To Parigi came from the Paloe Valley. It seems to me a paradox, or there may be some misprint that I have not been able to trace.

If the To Parigi had emigrated from the Paloe Valley we should expect to hear of the wars between the To Parigi and the tribes living on the Tomini Gulf. On the contrary we learn that the former have settled as colonists along the whole of the southern coast of the Tomini Gulf as far as in Todjo in the east. They have even settled in the Soemara Valley near the Tomori Bay and on the Togian Islands. Some of them seem also to have gone to live on the northern coast of the Gulf of Tomini.

On the whole the intercourse between the To Parigi and the Bare-e Toradja seem to have been peaceable. Only in 1890 Parigi took part in a war against the tribes of the Poso districts, induced to it by the To Ondae, one of the most powerful of the Bare-e speaking tribes.

Of course we cannot draw any conclusions to be depended on from what Kruijt says of the origin of the To Parigi. To my mind his statements seem to point at a migration from the SE., possibly from the Poso districts, analogical to the migrations of most of the tribes living on the coast of the SW. corner of the Tomini Gulf. The tribes of the Paloe Valley also seem to have moved in the same direction as we shall see in the following pages.

The natives of the Paloe Valley.

Map 9.

In the Paloe Valley and on the coast of the Paloe Bay the proper native population are so called Toradja. The inhabitants of the Valley are severed into a number of tribes, speaking several languages and dialects, but to judge

from literature the area occupied by a certain tribe does not cover that of a certain language.

According to the Dutch official Hissink in his »Nota van toelichting betreffende de zelfbesturende landschappen Paloe, Dolo, Sigi en Beromaroe» (1912) there are four tribes living in the Paloe Valley. He writes the following of them:

»De hedendaagsche bewooners van het dal zijn dus: de Paloeërs, de Tosigi, de Toberomaroe, de Todolo. De eerste bewonen het noordelijk deel van de vallei, aan werzijden van de Paloerivier. De To Beromaroe en To Sigi wonen ten zuiden van hen aan den rechteroever van de rivier met uitzondering van een klein gedeelte ten Noorden van de Woenoe, waar Todolo wonen. De Todolo wonen ten Zuiden van de Paloeërs aan den linkeroever van de rivier.»

Of the natives living on the eastern mountain slopes of the Valley he says:

»In de bergen, grenzende aan het dal, zijn natuurlijk menschen blijven hangen anderen weder daarhen uitgeweken. Deze bevolking, welke echter zeer dun gezaaid is wordt door de dalbewoners algemeen aangeduid met Tolare»

Beside these Tolare, living on the slopes of the mountains of the eastern bank of the R. Paloe, there are other natives being not closely related to the tribes of the Valley such as the inhabitants of Petimpe or, as Kruijt writes it Petimbe, in the district of Palolo, being descendants of the To Balinggi from Tana boa on the Tomini Gulf or possibly To Pebato, a tribe living on the lower Poena River.

Further to the north, east of the R. Paloe there also is a small district called Lalanggonaoe or Raranggonaoe, the inhabitants of which, according to Hissink, have come from Dolago on the Tomini Gulf. He writes the following of them:

»Een groot dorp in Dolago, Korentoe'a geheeten, werd tot op den grond verbrand. In dezen strijd werd een groot aantal Parigiërs gedood en verdreven. Zoo moeten de Toraroengganau, welke nu in het gebergte ten Oosten van Beromaroe wonen, uit Dolago afkomstig zijn.»

Beside the tribes mentioned by Hissink there live in the most southern part of the Valley round the mouths of the Goembasa, the Mioe, and the Sakoeri in the Paloe River two other tribes. In the angle formed by the Goembasa and the Mioe we find the To Pakoeli, and west of the lower part of the Mioe where the Sakoeri empties into the Mioe there was the district of Bangga, the inhabitants of which spoke the same language as the To Pakoeli.

Hissink in his classification of the tribes of the Paloe Valley chiefly goes by the administrative point of view, whereas Adriani in Vol. III of the *Bare-e* speaking Toradja founds his classification of these tribes on linguistic reasons.

According to Adriani there are only three original languages in the Paloe Valley, all of them being so called Western Toradja languages. These are the Paloe language or *Ledo*, and its dialect *Dori*, the Sigi language or *Idja*, and the Pakoeli language or *Ado* with a dialect named *Edo*.

Of the distribution of these languages in the Paloe Valley Adriani writes as follows:

»Van af de Z. grens van het Paloesch ligt het gebied der W. Toradjasche talen in het stroomdal der Paloerivier. Der W. oever dezer rivier tot op 1° 10' Z. B. behoort nog tot het gebied van het Paloesch, de O. oever slechts voor een klein deel, n. l. tot aan de zijrivier Woeno, war het gebied van het Sigisch begint. Naar het Oosten strekt zich het gebied van het Paloesch nog uit zoover het land daar bewoond is, nl. tot het dorp Lara ngGonaoe, op den weg van Paloe naar Dolago, aan de Tominibocht. Reeds op 1° Z. B. begint het gebied van het Sigisch (idja), eene taal met een zeer klein gebied en niet meer dan 2000 sprekers, want het eenige uren Zuidelijker gelegen Sidondo spreekt *edo*, eene taal van een 1000 sprekers, die weinig verschilt met die van het nog een weinig meer Zuidelijk gelegen Sibalaja, het *ado*, ook de taal van Pakoeli en van het op dezelfde hoogte, aan den W. oever der Paloe-rivier gelegen landschapje Bangga. Het aantal sprekers van het Pakoelisch mag op 3000 begroot worden.»

Thus *Ledò* is spoken by the To Paloe and the To Biromaroe, *Idja* by the To Sigi and the To Dolo, *Ado* by the To Pakoeli, the To Bangga, and the To Sibalaja. The To Sidondo speak the *Ado* dialect called *Edo*: The dialect of *Dori* is spoken by about 1800 natives living east of the Paloe Bay.

I have not myself had the opportunity of making any researches in the Paloe Valley of the migrations of the tribes. In the following I thus only shall have to stand on the statements of literature, chiefly on those communicated by Hissink. Adriani and Kruijt hardly touch upon this question in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's».

To Paloe, To Biromaroe.

Map 9.

Of the inhabitants of the Paloe Valley and their origin Hissink writes the following: »De oorspronkelijke bewoners zijn de Toradja's die uit de bergen geleidelijk zijn afgedaald naar het dal.»

Already before taking possession of the Paloe Valley these Toradja should have been three different tribes, the To Sigi, the To Dolo, and the To Paloe. In the Valley Hissink heard several tales of the wars between these tribes in olden times and of the shifting of their settlements. Of the To Paloe he says:

»De bewoners van het landschap Paloe woonden in het gebergte ten Oosten van hunne tegenwoordige woonplaatsen. Hier hadden zij eene groote nederzetting, Boeloe Watoe npaloe geheeten. Boeloe Watoe is een soort bamboe, npaloe beteekent klein, terneergebogen. Hoogstwaarschijnlijk is de naam Paloe overgebracht op de eerste nederzettingen in de vlakte aan den mond der daar stroomende groote rivier.»

Where the old village of Boeloe Watoe npaloe was situated in the mountains east of Paloe Hissink does not know and I have not found it on any map. However it be, the To Paloe evidently came from the east to their present district, but we must not think that the To Paloe originated in the mountains east of the Paloe Valley. Their coming down into the Valley presumably is to be considered as a continuation of an earlier migration. It is of course impossible to tell from where this mountain people originally came; we are reduced to mere conjecture. As their migration from the mountains to the Valley has gone from east to west it seems most likely to me that they came from the region east of the high mountains and that they have proceeded in the same direction as most of the tribes living or having lived on the SW. coast of the Tomini Gulf, i. e. from the SE. to the NW.

Hissink does not mention anything of the origin of the To Biromaroe. As they speak the same language, *Ledo*, as the To Paloe, we may assume that they are closely related to each other, both belonging to the tribe that from the mountains in the east came down and took possession of the Valley. Further we may assume that the division into two tribes is of rather late date, since the To Paloe and the To Biromaroe still speak the same language, i. e. they had not separated when their ancestors migrated to the mountain districts east of the Paloe Valley, but the separation took place when they were settled in these districts or possibly not until the To Paloe settled at the mouth of the Paloe and the To Biromaroe remained in the neighbourhood of the mountains where both of them had lived together.

When the separation took place we do not know, but at the end of the 17th century the two tribes existed, since Valentijn in his work «Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien» in 1724 mentions Paloe as well as Biromaroe, only he spells the latter name Bizemaroe.

To Sigi, To Dolo.

Map 9.

These two tribes speak the same language, *Idja*, indicating that they not all too long ago were one tribe. Of the To Sigi Kruijt in his account of his journey with Adriani 1897 to Sigi only says the following: »Het eigenlijke Sigi bestaat slechts uit vier dorpen: Bora, Watoenondjoe, Olobadjoe en Sigi. Van de laatste plaats zijn de Sigiërs afkomstig...»

Hissink has more to tell of the history of the To Sigi and the To Dolo and of their settling in the Paloe Valley. According to him the To Sigi originally lived in the mountains north of Lindoe. He writes the following.

»De Tosigi woorden ten Noorden van het Lindoemeer in het gebergte. Hunne nederzettingen waren de kampongs Lewoe, Silonga, Wololaoe, Oee Malei en Sigi Poeloe.» Of the To Dolo he says: »Meer naar het noorden woonden de To-dolo in de kampongs Dolo, Maro en Pompewajo.»

Where all these villages were situated I have not been able to find out, since they are not given on any map that has been at my disposal, i. e. Kruijt's map of Central Celebes, Schetskaart van een deel van Noord- en Midden-Celebes, Batavia 1919, and the map belonging to Hissink's article on the Paloe Valley. Only the village of Sigi Poeloe is given on all three maps.

It seems, however, considering the site of Sigi Poeloe and Hissink's statements of the migration of the To Sigi and the To Dolo from the mountains to the Valley, as if the above mentioned Sigi villages should have been situated in the district of Palolo or in the neighbourhood of it, whereas the Dolo villages probably were found where at present we have the district of Sigi.

According to Hissink the To Sigi and the To Dolo seem to have been fighting furiously. Once the To Dolo, being insulted by the To Sigi, so Hissink tells us, levied war against the To Sigi. In this war the To Dolo were the winners, but

then the To Sigi made up their mind to take revenge. They allied themselves with the To Koelawi, the To Bena-hoe, the To Bada, the To Napoe, the To Behoa, and the To Tawaelia. The To Dolo had to yield to odds and to look out for other dwelling places. Hissink writes the following of it:

»Tegen deze overmacht waren de laatsten niet opgewassen; hunne dorpen werden verbrand en zij vluchten in Westelijke richting, waar zij eene nieuwe vestiging stichtten op den berg Pandjopolaki. Tot seven malen toe werden zij op deze wijze doór de Tosigi verdreven, die steeds allerlei redenen zochten om den strijd gaande te houden.

De To Dolo waren toen aangekomen bij de monding der kali¹⁾ Woenoe, waar zij de tegenwoordige kampong²⁾ Kotarindaoe stichtten. Van hieruit verspreidden ze zich naar Kotaripoeloe, Sibonoe, Pewoenoe, Kaleke en Pesakoe. Ook de To Sigi waren toen op hunne tegenwoordige woonplaatsen aangekomen.»

Kotarindaoe and Kotaripoeloe I have not found on the maps. The former seems to have been situated east of the R. Paloe, whereas at least Sibonoe, Pewoenoe, Kaleke, and Pesakoe are found on the western bank of the River. In this manner the To Sigi and the To Dolo at present occupy each a district on the R. Paloe, the To Sigi east of the River, the To Dolo chiefly west of it just opposite to the To Sigi.

Beside the wars between the To Sigi and the To Dolo, Hissink mentions other wars that these tribes have carried on against other tribes, but these wars do not seem to have influenced their settlements in the Paloe Valley.

It is, however, evident that the To Sigi as well as the To Dolo have proceeded from the SE. to the NW., i. e. from the mountain districts north of Lindoe down to the Paloe Valley, at first along the eastern side of the Valley and finally on the western side. Here the To Dolo even have advanced somewhat toward the south.

¹⁾ Kali is river in Malay

²⁾ Kampong is village in Malay

When the migration to the Valley took place is unknown, but Valentijn, when speaking of Paloe and Biro-maroe, also mentions as independant villages Sigi as well as Dolo which makes it evident that the To Sigi and the To Dolo were settled in the Valley at the end of the 17th century or at the beginning of the 18th.

To Pakoeli, To Bangga, To Baloease, To Sibalaja, To Sidondo.

Map 9.

South of the districts occupied by the To Sigi and the To Dolo we find a number of small communities the inhabitants of which speak the same language, after its negation called *Ado*. The speech of Sidondo is, as mentioned before, a dialect of *Ado* named *Edo*. All these natives seem to belong to a tribe not yet properly severed into smaller tribes, since only the language of Sindondo furthest to the north has developed into a dialect of *Ado* which in all probability is to be considered as the original language of these natives. The Sidondo dialect presumably rose because the To Sidondo lived rather far away from the center of the *Ado* language. If they have migrated toward the north from the original area of the *Ado* language or if they are to be considered as a kind of rear we do not know.

Ado, however, is no doubt closely related to *Idja* in the north as well as to *Tado* in the south. As the tribes speaking *Idja* and *Tado* in all probability migrated from the SE. to the NW. presumably the *Ado* speakers have advanced in about the same direction, i. e. they should belong to the big group that from the mountain districts east and SE. of the Paloe Valley moved to the Valley.

Summary of the migrations of the Paloe Toradja. Map 10.

If we sum up what has been said in the foregoing pages of the migrations of the Paloe Toradja it will be that they seem on the whole to have moved from the SE. to the NW., presumably from the tracts just north of Lake Poso to the western and SW. coast of the Gulf of Tomini and the mountain districts south and east of the Paloe Valley as far as to the Strait of Macassar, to the Valley itself and to the basis of the northern peninsula of Celebes.

The To Balinggi, the To Dolago, the To Saoesoe, the To Pajapi and their descendants the To Tawaelia seem to have come from the tracts just NE. of Lake Poso, i. e. the tracts from which also originate the To Pebato. When these tribes proceeded toward the west and the NW. they first crossed the R. Poso, taking possession of the country west of the River. Later they have crossed the R. Poena, moving more and more toward the north.

It is difficult to say in which order these tribes have migrated. The To Pajapi, anyhow, seem to have been the last tribe that left the district on the R. Poena, at present occupied by the To Pebato, who in all probability succeeded to the To Pajapi.

The To Pajapi on the whole did not proceed beyond the Tambarana. A fraction of the tribe on one occasion settled in the district of Tawaelia, another south of Donggala. Some fragments of the tribe Adriani and Kruijt also found in Saoesoe, Dolago, and Parigi.

The To Saoesoe, the To Dolago, the To Balinggi, and the To Parigi seem to have been living on the coast of the Tomini Gulf when the To Pajapi arrived from the SE., and they probably prevented them from moving still further toward the north.

The migration of these four tribes then must be of an earlier date than that of the To Pajapi. Presumably they

migrated in the same order as we at present find their districts. Thus the To Parigi came first, then the To Dolago, then the To Balinggi and finally the To Saoesoe.

The migration that from the tracts of Lake Poso went over the mountains to the NW. presumably embraced a more numerous contingent than the one that moved toward the SW. coast of the Tomini Gulf. The majority of the tribes which I have called Paloe Toradja no doubt belong to this invasion.

Of course there is no positive proof of the tribes at present living in the Paloe Valley having come from the tracts of Lake Poso, nor that the To Koelawi and the To Lindoe did so, but I have been able to show that all these tribes in all probability have migrated from the SE. to the NW. This rather certain migration in later times may perhaps be considered as the last phase of an earlier migration carried on in the same direction as it began, i. e. from the SE. to the NW. If this is the case the tribes in question probably lived somewhere north of Lake Poso in the neighbourhood of the other branch of the Paloe Toradja that comprises the To Parigi, the To Dolago, the To Balinggi, the To Saoesoe, and the To Pajapi.

As mentioned before, the To Koelawi as well as the To Lindoe imagine their departed to go to a place east of their present country. Some To Koelawi even consider the final goal not to be Mount Ngilalaki, but some place still further to the east. According to Kruijt this place is said to be Tineba on Mount Sodanga in the SE.

It is not likely that all the tribes that settled in the Paloe Valley spread along the same route. I think we must assume that they came in different groups along three or four routes. The most northern group comprises the To Paloe, the To Biromaroe, the To Dolo, and the To Sigi. It may be that this group should be divided into two smaller groups, one comprising the To Paloe and the To Biromaroe, the other the To Dolo and the To Sigi. The former pro-

bably found their way over the mountains north of the latter, which seem to have come from the tracts of Napoe and followed the old trail that according to Kruijt from these tracts over Palolo leads to the Paloe Valley.

In this connection I want to mention that the Paloe language or Ledo is known far beyond its small original area in the northern part of the Paloe Valley. It is spoken at several places from Toli Toli in the north far south of the mouth of the R. Lariang (Koro) on the coast of Strait Macassar. In the east Ledo is spoken at several places on the western coast of the Tomini Gulf as far as to Poso in the south. Another place where Ledo is spoken we find in the neighbourhood of the Tomori Bay. This wide distribution Ledo presumably got because the To Paloe were a trading people, often settling far beyond their own district.

Another group of natives living in the Paloe Valley seem to have proceeded further to the south over Napoe and the valley basin of Lindoe, along the valley of the Mioe to the southern part of the Valley. This group presumably comprises the To Lindoe, the To Pakoeli, the To Sibalaja, the To Sidondo, the To Bangga and their branch the To Bangakoro. Also the To Tamoengkolowi and the To Tobakoe seem to belong to this group. From Lindoe they may have found their way to the west, but to me it seems more likely that they are colonies founded by the tribes living in the southern part of the Paloe Valley.

The migration of the To Koelawi I cannot combine with that of any other of the above mentioned tribes. The language and the culture of the To Koelawi and the To Lindoe do not indicate these tribes as being closely related. In all probability the two have at an early stage sprouted out of the big stock that was the origin of all these tribes.

Possibly the ancestors of the To Koelawi over Napoe went westward, crossing the Sibaronga Range and gaining the valley basin of Koelawi, or perhaps their route was

more to the north, deviating later somewhat to the SW., leading over the slopes of Mount Ngilalaki, over the Lindoe Plain and the Sibaronga Range.

Beside the above mentioned Paloe Toradja tribes we find further to the north at the basis of the northern peninsula of Celebes as well as west of the Paloe Valley some tribes that no doubt should be classified as Paloe Toradja. West of the Paloe Valley there are the *Oende* speaking To Lole and the *Ndepoeoe* speaking To Ganti of whom Adriani on page 6 and 7 of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» writes the following:

»Aan de W.-kust der Paloe-baai, ten N. van het Z. lijk gedeelte daarvan (dat Paloesch spreekt), ligt het taalgebied van het Lolesch (oende) eene kleine taal, die echter ook (volgens ingewonnen berichten) hier en daar aan de op dezelfde breedte liggende kust van Straat Makassar wordt gesproken. Het aantal sprekers van het Lolesch zal ongeveer 2000 bedragen. Het gebied dezer taal loopt N. lijk tot Donggala. Ten W. van het Lolesch, in de W. helft van het driehoekig schiereiland tusschen de Paloe-baai en Straat Makassar wordt het Gantisch (ndepoeoe) gesproken, dat niet meer dan een goede 1000 sprekers zal hebben. Deze talen gelijken veel op elkaar: ook de ontkenningwoorden zijn dezelfde, want het Gantische ndpoeoe is het Lolesche oende, versterkt met poeoe, Bar. poe'oe, Mal. pochoen enz. dat als versterkingswoord wordt gebruikt, zoodat het ndepoeoe woordelijk beteekent 'volstrekt niet' . . . Het Lolesch en het Gantisch gelijken in woordenschat meer op het Parigisch en het Baria dan op het Paloesch. Dit is in overeenstemming met eene legende. . . volgens welke de stam der To-Pajapi of To-Palapi, die vroeger aan de Z. kust der Tomini bocht woonde tusschen de rivieren Tambarana en Poena. . . , en wier taal (het* Baria) dus haar gebied had tusschen het Saoesoesch en het Bare'e, voor een deel zou zijn verhuisd naar Boedoe-Boedoe, eene plaats die aangewezen wordt ten

Z. van Tandj. Karang (ingang van de Paloebaai, dicht bij Donggala) aan Straat Makassar.»

At the basis of the northern peninsula of Celebes north of Paloe and Parigi the natives speak the Tawaili or Torai language which Adriani classifies as a Toradja speech. The origin of the To Tawaili does not seem to be known. To me it seems most likely that the main part of them from the Paloe Valley moved toward the north following the west coast of the peninsula toward the peninsula of Balaisang. Only a smaller contingent seems to have crossed the mountains and settled on the coast of the Tomini Gulf. The linguistic relations of this contingent seem according to Adriani to be rather complicated. He writes the following on page 9:

»De W. Toradjasche talen die gesproken worden aan de kust der Tomini-bocht, zijn, behalve het Tawailisch dat van Sinioe tot Toboli wordt gesproken, . . . het Parigisch (tara), van 0° 45' tot 0° 55' Z. B., d. i. van Pelawa tot Dolago. Dit eerste dorp is het meest N. lijke van het Parigisch taalgebied, maar een weinig ten Z. W. van Pelawa ligt het dorp Petapa, waarvan de bewoners voor de helft Parigisch, voor de helft dezelfde taal als de To Lole spreken. Dit is echter eene andere taal dan het bovengenoemde oende, dat aan de W.-kust van de Paloebaai en hier en daar aan den O. lijken oever van Straat Makassar wordt gesproken.¹⁾ Het hier besproken Petapasch is de taal der To Lole die het binnenland van Ampibabo bewonen en wier taal, naar de ontkenning, tadjje of andje heet. In vroegeren tijd behoorde het gebied dat nu door het torai aan de Tomini-bocht is ingenomen, geheel aan het andje, althans op de in 1682 vervaardigde kaart der Tomini-bocht van Jan van der Wal, schipper van 'De Brandtgans' komt Tololy voor ten Z. van Pilabat (Pelawa), welken laatsten naam Van den Wal dus in den Petapaschen vorm (met sluiters *t*) heeft gehoord.»

¹⁾ The natives that west of the Paloe Bay speak *Oende* are also called To Lole. See page 49.

To judge from this quotation the spread of the Tawaili language to the coast of the Tomini Gulf is of comparatively late date.

To the Paloe Toradja we must perhaps also refer the To Hoekoe who from the western part of the Napoe Plain migrated to Behoa in the south where they settled. Their relation to the To Napoe as well as their migration seem to indicate that they do not belong to the same group as the To Napoe, i. e. the Koro Toradja. A study of the To Hoekoe colony in Behoa would perhaps reveal their kinship. On my map I have marked the migration of this tribe as not known for certain whether to be referred to the migrations of the Paloe Toradja or not.

II. KORO TORADJA.

To Winatoe, To Gimpoe.

Map 11.

In the chapter treating of the To Koelawi I mentioned that this tribe, when trying to enlarge their country, came in contact with natives in the south, not closely related to them. These natives are as we already know the To Winatoe and the To Gimpoe.

These tribes certainly have been strongly influenced by the powerful To Koelawi, but yet ^{pro} everything belonging to their original culture has not been effaced.

The natives of Winatoe and Gimpoe do not speak *Mo-ma*, the language of Koelawi, but a dialect of the languages called *Oema*, spoken in the greater part of the districts on the Koro, generally called Pipikoro. It is said to be divided into three or four dialects. According to the statements of the native teachers of Gimpoe and Winatoe the *Oema* of these districts is quite the same but differs somewhat from the *Oema* spoken by the tribes on the southern bank of the Koro.

When I visited Gimpoe and Winatoe I never heard any legends that could give us an idea of the origin or the migrations of the To Winatoe and the To Gimpoe.

Adriani and Kruijt are of the opinion that all the tribes of Pipikoro came from the north and that they are related to the group that by Kruijt is called Parigi-Kaili Toradja, by Adriani West Toradja. For several reasons I cannot share their opinion. In my Swedish book »I Celebes Obygder» I have comprehended all the *Oema* speaking tribes in a group that I have called the Koro Toradja,

since my idea is that these tribes are all closely related to each other.

As to the linguistic arguments of Adriani I do not think that too much importance can be attributed to them. The missionary Mr. Loois who has lived for five years in Koelawi and speaks Oema fluently told me that the translation of fifty percent of the Koelawi words quoted by Adriani and Kruijt are wrong. Adriani's and Kruijt's knowledge of Oema must have been still more unfavourable, as far as it is based on their own experiences. In 1897 they had personally met only some Oema speaking natives from the districts just south of Koelawi. Later, when publishing their great work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's», Adriani had at his disposition a list of words, compiled by the Dutch missionary Ten Kate.

As far as I know this missionary has never visited the districts SW. of the Koro where Oema dialects are spoken.

In »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Adriani enumerates the following tribes as Oema speakers: the To Benasoe, the To Kantewoe, the To Tobakoe, the To Rioentoe or To Gimpoe, and the To Tole. Of these tribes he utters the following: »Al deze stammen spreken dezelfde taal, met geringe dialectische verschillen.»

This is however a mistake, since the To Tobakoe speak a language rather different from those of the other tribes. As I have pointed out before (page 23) it is not all Oema, but *Ompa*. Neither do the To Benasoe speak Oema. Their negation is *aria*. I am coming back to this question later.

Of the stock of words of the Oema language Adriani says that it agrees to a certain extent with that of the so called Eastern Toradja mountain languages, but for other reasons he classes Oema with the Western Toradja mountain languages.

Presumably he founded this opinion on his own and on Ten Kates experiences of the Oema dialect that is spoken south of Koelawi where the natives have been strong-

ly influenced by their neighbours in the north, and where To Koelawi even have settled. Under these circumstances it does not seem unlikely that the Oema of the districts south of Koelawi have to a certain degree been influenced by the Moma language of Koelawi. If Adriani had known the other Oema dialects, he had perhaps changed his opinion on the character of the Oema language.

Anyhow, I think we had better leave the linguistic arguments aside, until we get authentic lists of words from these districts. Such have been compiled by the Dutch missionary Mr. Loois who stayed for five years in Koelawi, and by the English missionary Mr. Woodward who worked for seven years among the natives of Kantewoe. I expect these lists to be of great scientific interest, since the two missionaries are the first Europeans who have stayed for any length of time in these districts. Unfortunately the lists have not yet been published, and we can only hope that the Dutch Government will see that these documents as soon as possible will be published in favour of science.

Considering not only the culture of the Oema speaking tribes but also their external appearance, they seem to be related to the tribes in the SE., and all of them, the To Gimpoe, the To Winatoe and the rest of the Oema speakers, probably did not come from the north but from the south.

The branch of the Oema speakers living at present at Pili, Makoedjawa, Gimpoe, and Winatoe presumably on their migration toward the north, chiefly followed the eastern bank of the Koro. As they proceeded they founded several villages, cleared the ground with fire and cultivated it. Of these settlements there is not much left at present.

Between Bokoe and Gimpoe we find east of the Koro a small village not far from Bokoe, being a colony of this village. Somewhat further to the north there were in 1918 a few houses, composing a small village, not given on any map. At the time of my visit it was uninhabited, the natives very likely staying at their paddy fields in the moun-

tains. My coolies did not know the name of the place, thus I could not make out whether the village was a colony of the natives of Bokoe, or it belonged to the Oema speakers.

Still further to the north, about half way between Gimpoe and Bokoe, I noticed some huts close to the Koro where there is a small plain. This place was called Tanangke. According to the natives it was used as a halt between Gimpoe and Bokoe. Very likely this place had formerly been the quarters of some natives who had cleared the ground with fire in order to cultivate it.

North of this place there were some ten or twenty years ago a number of small villages: Pili, Wahi or Wasi, Nantitala, and finally Makoedjawa not far from Gimpoe. Nantitala and Wahi do not exist at present, there are only some old coco-nut palms, indicating the site of the villages, and Pili is a very small village counting only a couple of houses.

Makoedjawa is of more considerable size than Pili, but not until we come to Gimpoe we find, owing to more favourable circumstances of the ground, extensive settlements of natives, not only surrounded by fields cleared with fire, but also by artificially irrigated paddy fields.

The inhabitants of Gimpoe not only spread over the bottom of the former lake that once occupied the lower part of the present Mewe Valley, they cleared the slopes of the mountains with fire, east as well as west of the Valley. Here we also now and then encounter a hut.

Winatoe is of almost the same appearance as Gimpoe. only the Winatoe Valley is much smaller. At Winatoe the ground, cultivated after having been cleared with fire, is more extensive than at Gimpoe. Presumably the proceeding of the natives to Winatoe is of rather late date, since the To Winatoe speak the same Oema dialect as the To Gimpoe.

To Tole, To Kantewoe, To Peana.

Map 11.

South of the Koro as well as on the southern and SE. tributaries of this river, there live some tribes, closely related to the To Gimpoe and the To Winatoe. They speak Oema dialects just as these, but they have in their culture kept more that reminds us of the tribes living further to the east and SE., than the To Gimpoe and the To Winatoe have done.

The Oema speakers south of the Koro are the To Tole, the To Kantewoe, and the To Peana. Of these the To Tole are a genuine mountain people, the villages of which are situated in the lofty mountains of the middlemost part of the Koro, especially in the mountains between the R. Mama, the R. Mokoe, the R. Lamoi, and the R. Mopi, all tributaries of the Koro. The villages between the Lamoi and the Mopi, however, are not by far so important as those situated between the other rivers.

The To Tole are also found on the northern bank of the Koro near the mouth of the Mama and the Mokoe in the Koro. We also find some To Tole dispersed along the mountain slopes of the left bank of the Koro far in the east and SE. beyond their proper home.

The To Kantewoe and the To Peana occupy the country on the central and the upper part of the Mokoë, the To Kantewoe, however, chiefly living on the Makaj, a tributary of the Mokoe, rising in the mountains in the west.

In my popular Swedish book, called »I Celebes Obygder» I have given my ideas of the migrations of these tribes. As I have not had any reasons for changing my mind on the subject, I am in the following pages only to give a more detailed account of each tribe before making a final summary of their migrations.

To Tole.

Map 11.

Of the migrations of the To Tole I never got any informations from the natives. Possibly they did not possess any legends bearing upon their migrations in olden times, but more likely they had had so little to do with the white man that they still kept their natural fear and reserve toward him.

When the Dutch at the beginning of our century as first Europeans came to these districts the villages of the To Tole were almost the same as at present. Only a few changes have been made during the last 20 years.

Boonstra van Heerdt is the first one to give us a more detailed account of the district of Tole and its villages. He says that Tole is situated on both sides of the Koro, the southern part being bordered by the Mopi and the Mama. The Lamoï and the Mokoë cut it up into three parallel ridges. The part of the district that is situated north of the Koro abuts on Gimpoe which he says belongs to Koelawi. From Tobakoe it is separated by high mountains.

Boonstra van Heerdt says that only the mountain slopes facing the Koro are inhabited, for the rest Tole should be occupied by native forests. This statement, however, is not quite correct, since the natives at several places on the above mentioned ridges have cleared the ground with fire and cultivated it. The fields we find on the top of the mountains as well as further down the slopes. In the uppermost part of the Lamoï Valley the To Tole formerly even had made arrangements so as to be able to cultivate paddy in wet fields. Very likely B. van Heerdt had not the opportunity of going along these ridges, or he would have known that they are here and there occupied by fields belonging to the To Tole.

Boonstra van Heerdt counts the following villages in Tole:

Between the Mopi and the Lamoi: *Hopa*, *Whiri* (10 houses), *Lonobassa*, and *Rongge*.

Between the Lamoi and the Mokoë: *Kilo*, *Moenoe*, and *Poraelea* (some 10 houses).

Between the Mokoë and the Mama: *Pangana*.

North of the Koro: *Tompi*, about 20 houses, all old, ready to fall, and a temple in good condition, and *Poe*.

All these villages are, as stated by Boonstra van Heerdt, situated on the mountain slopes, facing the Koro.

When I visited Tole in 1918, seven years after Boonstra van Heerdt, there were some changes to be noted. The villages of Tompi and Poe were according to the natives abandoned, the houses falling to decay.

The village of Pangana between the Mama and the Mokoë was still left, but this old village, according to what the natives told me the oldest and formerly the chief village of Tole, had now lost all its former importance. When the Dutch arrived on the scene, the Government ordered the inhabitants of Pangana to leave their old village in the mountains and move to regions less inaccessible to the Dutch authorities. Some of the natives were removed to Gimpoe where they built a village of their own. Others were brought together in the village of Toetoe oeë, near Kantewoe (toetoe = mountain, oeë, = water).

It was a hard blow to the natives of Pangana, and many of them, especially those having been removed to Gimpoe, died since they could not stand the hot climate of the Gimpoe Plain, accustomed as they were to the fresh air of the mountains. The houses of Pangana fell one by one.

The former inhabitants of Pangana did not understand that the change of climate was the cause of the death of so many of their people. They attributed this calamity to the spirits of Pangana who had not been attended to so as they were wont when the natives lived at the village.

In order to appease them some natives went back to Peana in spite of the Government, but they did not return

to the old houses but built new ones just south of the old village. The ground was cleared with fire, and they began again cultivating paddy and maize, but the new village of course is not of the same importance as the old one.

On the eastern slopes of the Mokoë Valley there were at several places fields belonging to the To Tole. At other places the ground had evidently formerly been cleared with fire, since the forest was quite young.

Just north of the mouth of the Makaj in the Mokoë there is a small village called Maroei, consisting of only three houses and two paddy barns. This village was said to be a colony of the To Pangana.

The population of the mountain ridge between the Mama and the Mokoë seems nowadays to be rather thin, but the natives living between the Lamoi and the Mokoë are numerous, at least compared with those of the former ridge. Almost everywhere the native forest has had to give way to the fields of the natives. Only here and there a grove of old trees has been left. At other places the forest that once was burnt, is regrowing. On the whole this ridge, bounded on the north by the Koro Valley, on the south by the Makaj Valley, seems to be the part of the district where the To Tole are most numerous.

In the Koro Valley there are only two Tole villages, Poralea and Kilo, the former situated opposite to Pangana, the latter not far from the mouth of the Lamoi in the Koro.

Poralea was said to have been almost as important a village as Pangana. Here much was changed since the visit of Boonstra van Heerdt in 1911 for the same reasons as at Pangana. In 1918 only eight houses were left as well as an old temple that was near its fall, the natives being brought by the Dutch to a village on the upper part of the Lamoi. Some natives, however, had spread along the western slope of the Mokoë Valley where they had cleared some pieces of land with fire and here and there

built a house near the fields. At two or three places there were a couple of houses close to each other.

There was no trace more of the village of Moenoe, mentioned by Boonstra van Heerdt. Not far from Kilo some high coco-nut palms indicated the site of Kaloelia that was said to have been burnt accidentally. This village as well as Kilo were pointed out as Poraelea colonies.

On the eastern slope of the Lamoi Valley we here and there find the fields of the 'To 'Tole and a single house. In the middle of the Valley there is the little village of Pepaoea.

Further up the Lamoi Valley, at the foot of the eastern mountain slopes there are, as mentioned before, unmistakable traces of terraces and other arrangements for artificial irrigation of paddy fields. Formerly there was here a village called Rante. Still further up the Valley there is a rather big village belonging to the 'To 'Tole.

Whether the village of Ioentoe was founded by the natives of their own accord, or they had been ordered by the Dutch Government to do so, I cannot decide. Some natives said the latter was the case, but I am inclined to think that there was at least some small village here, before the Dutch interfered.

On the map called »Schetskaart van Noord- en Midden-Celebes», no village of such name is given, but there is a village called 'Tonggolowi close to the place where Ioentoe is situated. On Kruijt's map of Central Celebes there are two villages, one of the name of 'Toentoe, the other of 'Tonggolowi. 'Toentoe seems to be the same as Ioentoe, or as I some time heard the natives call it Doeoentoe.

Any village of the name of 'Tonggolowi I never heard of when I visited 'Tole in 1918. Possibly it may be the same as the village recorded to me by the natives as being called Rante. The site of these two seems to be the same. However it be, all these villages had been founded by natives from Poraelea.

As to the villages between the Lamoi and the Mopi I have no other statements than that they, according to the natives, were of later date than Poraelea and Pangana.

Outside the district of Tole there are some natives, said to be To Tole, spread along the slopes of the mountains on the left bank of the Koro, east of Pangana even so far to the south as to Harobokoe just south of the mouth of the Karangana in the Koro. •

Where those To Tole have come from I do not know, but they were said not to be people from the above mentioned villages having settled here, but having lived here from olden times. Under these circumstances it seems likely to me that, if the natives really are To Tole, they have remained here from an earlier period when the To Tole were concentrated in these tracts, before proceeding to the upper part of the Mokoë and the Lamoi and before crossing the Lamoi and following the Koro westward. There are many signs showing that these slopes have formerly been more populous than at present. The native forest is to a large extent cut down. At many places there is now rather old, regrown forest. Here and there we notice some old coco-nut palms with high, excessively thin trunks, indicating the spot where some natives have lived. Whether these old settlements are to be attributed to the ancestors of the To Tole living here at present, or perhaps to the ancestors of all the present Oema speakers I leave unsaid, but I shall come back to the question later.

If we sum up what is known of the settlement of the To Tole it is this: of all the villages the two big ones in the west, Pangana and Poraelea, seem to be the oldest, and of these two Pangana no doubt is older than Poraelea. From these villages the natives spread along the southern bank of the Koro as far as to the Mopi. Furthermore the natives followed the tributaries of the Koro, the Mokoë and the Lamoi, southward. The natives still proceed in this

direction, cutting down the forest, burning it and planting maize and paddy.

Thus, if we were allowed to make any conclusions, it seems as if the To Tole had moved from the east to the west and finally to the south.

How it was with the To Tole living on the mountain slopes north of the Koro I do not know. The inhabitants of Poe and Tompi were said to have had much intercourse with the natives of Pangana, and perhaps those villages were colonies of Pangana.

To Kantewoe.

Map 11.

The neighbours in the south of the To Tole are the To Kantewoe which have much in common with the To Tole in culture as well as in appearance. No doubt the two tribes are closely related.

During my stay at Kantewoe I never heard any legends, touching on the settlement of the To Kantewoe in their present district. I tried to find out where they imagined their departed to go, but without success. The knowledge of their ideas of this place might have intimated the direction in which they came to their present district. The only thing that I got out of the natives was that the spirits of the dead, when they left Kantewoe after the feast that was celebrated in their honour, went along the valley of the Makaj. On their way they had to pass between two huge stone blocks in the River where the water streams in a violent rapid in the rainy season. This place was of special importance since a spirit, having passed it, could no more return to the village.

Although this legend does not tell us anything of the

final goal of their departed, it may be that the tribe came to Kantewoe following the Makaj, since the natives believe the spirits of the dead to leave the country taking this way. Thus it may be that the To Kantewoe came from the north or the NE.

As to the settlements of the To Kantewoe the village of Kantewoe is the center of the whole district and is said to be the oldest village. On the slopes of the mountains there are a number of larger and smaller villages, all of them colonies of Kantewoe. There is only one exception, the village of Toetoe oee, founded lately by To Tole from Pangana who were ordered by the Dutch Government to leave their village in the mountains. Almost all the villages with their fields rise like an amphitheater above Kantewoe, chiefly in the west. The paddy fields close to Kantewoe are terraced and artificially irrigated. Higher up the mountains the ground has only been cleared with fire before the paddy and the maize were sown.

Most of these small villages were founded by the To Kantewoe who went to live there themselves, but occasionally a village was built to receive prisoners taken in war. It happened that those prisoners were too numerous to be housed in the villages, and then they were allowed to live in a village built by themselves. This was for instance the case with a rather big village just NW. of Kantewoe.

Somewhat NW. of Kantewoe there is the village of Onoe, situated on the ridge separating the Lamoï Valley from the Makaj Valley. This village is close to the Tole village of Ioentoe, but it is a colony of Kantewoe. A great part of the ground between Kantewoe and Onoe is occupied by fields, belonging to Kantewoe, and here and there we find a house.

The natives of Onoe have spread toward the NW., cutting down and burning the forest and cultivating the ground. Here also there are huts scattered in the mountains.

The To Kantewoe also have enlarged their territory toward the south. On the western slope of the Mokoë Valley the native forest has to a great extent yielded to the chopping knife of the natives and been burnt to give room to fields. This seems, however, to have been rather long ago, since at present the slopes are covered by shrub and young forest. Here and there we still see some fields, and half way between Kantewoe and Peana there is in the upper part of the mountain slopes a little village counting only two or three houses. This village was said to be inhabited by To Kantewoe.

The To Kantewoe not only spread in various directions, cultivating the ground, but their wars led to the founding of villages far beyond their own district and the vicinity of it. They were as all Toradja head hunters, but the intercourse between the To Kantewoe and their next neighbours the To Tobakoe, the To Tole and the To Peana seems to have been peaceable, presumably because all these tribes had a chieftain in common, the *maradika malolo* of Peana.

The To Kantewoe used to undertake plundering expeditions far to the south, and especially they visited Sekopada from where they brought a great number of slaves to Kantewoe. They were also said to have once attacked the To Rampi.

Going to Sekopada the To Kantewoe followed the Mokoë Valley, passed the western side of the mountain called Toetoe Tamela, and reached the valley of the Oepi, a tributary of the Karangana. This valley leads right to the south into the valley of the Karangana which they followed toward the SW. From the source of the Karangana, they had only to pass a large belt of native forest before arriving in Sekopada.

The To Kantewoe in the middle of the nineteenth century seem to have been very successful in these wars and made a number of prisoners. There was of course a difficulty in bringing all these prisoners to Kantewoe. In order

to facilitate the transport the To Kantewoe put up some houses on the Karangana to serve as halts on their way home. The most important of these places is no doubt Kalamanta, situated far in the SW. at the source of the Karangana.

This halt by and by developed into a small village the inhabitants of which became resident and were said to be To Kantewoe. It was of course convenient to have a colony so far to the south, only three days walking from the country that supplied Kantewoe with the necessary slaves.

If we sum up what we know of the migrations and the settlements of the To Kantewoe it will be this: it seems most likely that the tribe originally came from the north along the Makaj and the Mokoe Valleys and founded the old village of Kantewoe. From this village they spread somewhat to the NW. in the neighbourhood of Onoe, but chiefly they settled on the mountain slopes close to Kantewoe. They proceeded from Kantewoe toward the south as far as to the Karangana Valley where they founded some small colonies.

To Peana.

Map 11.

In the tracts further up the Mokoe Valley, especially on some terraces of the eastern slopes of the Valley, there lives a tribe, closely related to the To Kantewoe. They are said to speak an Oema dialect, very little different from the Oema of Kantewoe. After their chief village these natives are called To Peana. Their origin is unknown to me. I never heard anything of their migrations or their ideas of the land of their departed.

The legend of the origin of the family of the *maradika malolo* perhaps may indicate that they came from the districts north of the Koro. This legend tells that the ancestor of the *maradika*'s family was not a human being. He had as

some curious 'shape risen out of Lake Lindoe and finally arrived at Peana. There he saw a big bird, a black stork with a white neck, on a tree. He enticed it to come down to him, but when the bird touched the ground it was changed into a woman. The being from Lake Lindoe married her, and from these two the family of the maradika malolo descends.

The maradika's family was also said to be related to the princes of Sigi in the Paloe Valley, but this relationship was of so old date that the grandmother of the present maradika malolo, who told me the story, did not know whether it was a prince from Sigi who had married a princess from Peana or vice versa. Anyhow, we cannot be quite sure that the two families really were related to one another, because, as mentioned before, all the tribes in NW. Central Celebes like to count relations among the 'To Sigi, and especially the princes and the chiefs are proud of being relatives of the powerful royal family of Sigi.

As to the legend of the strange ancestor from Lake Lindoe it may possibly indicate the family of the maradika malolo as having come from Lindoe. But the whole tale may also be a mere invention in order to glorify the maradika's family, giving it the appearance of not coming from common mortals. However it may be, I do not think this story really has anything to tell of the origin of the 'To Peana.

If we study the colonies of the 'To Peana, we find that the tribe has proceeded in a certain direction, provided that the statement of the natives is correct that Peana is their oldest village. There is much speaking in favour of this presumption. It is the chief village, the tribe is named after it, and it is unmistakably a very old dwelling place. There are for instance in the village a great number of stones, worked by man, but from an earlier cultural period.

East of Peana there were a couple of small villages on the eastern bank of the Mokoë, said to be colonies of Peana. Not far from the village, on the slope of Toetoe Tamela, the

natives once founded a village called Tihia. In 1918 when I visited Peana the natives had left it since their fields had been overrun by rats that made all cultivating of paddy impossible.

The To Peana have not stopped in the Mokoë Valley, but they have gone through the pass east of Toetoe Tamela and gained the Mopahi Valley where they founded Palempea, in 1918 counting 8 houses. The natives of this village considered themselves as genuine To Peana, and they speak the Oema of Peana. How far the To Peana have proceeded in the Mopahi Valley I dare not say; the village of Mopahi, anyhow, is no colony of theirs.

In this connection I want to mention that, according to the natives, there formerly was a village called Potonoa, situated on the top of a very steep hill close to Palempea. There were still traces left of it. The natives could not tell whether Potonoa was a colony of Peana or not. However they did not think it unlikely that Potonoa already existed when the To Peana arrived on the scene, and that they had destroyed it when penetrating into the Mopahi Valley.

The To Peana have not contented themselves with the foundation of colonies. They were no doubt formerly a martial people, since they became the masters of all Pipikoro. The natives of Peana did not settle in the districts that they subdued, they only made the inhabitants subjects of the maradika of Peana.

Considering the fact that the colonies as well as the virgin land belonging to the To Peana, is situated in the neighbourhood of Peana and in the Mopahi Valley, it is not likely that this tribe arrived in their present district over the Mopahi Valley. It seems more likely that they gained it from the north, following the Mokoë Valley.

No doubt they have proceeded, at least from the mouth of the Makaj in the Mokoë, on the western bank of the Mokoë, where the nature of the ground is more favourable to cultivation than that of the eastern bank which is very steep.

It thus seems rather likely that the To Peana as well as the To Kantewoe came from the north, following the Mokoë Valley. How they came to Mokoë we do not know. We have for the present to content ourselves with mere suppositions.

Up till now I have not found anything indicating that these tribes should have come from the tracts north of the Koro, or that they arrived in their present district following the Koro from its mouth. The culture of the tribes living north of the Koro as well as that of the tribes in the NW. is quite different to the culture of the tribes south of the Koro. Physically the To Tole, the To Kantewoe, and the To Peana are very different from the To Tobakoe, the To Koelawi, and the To Lindoe, their neighbours in the north and the NW.

As the culture, the language and the appearance of the To Tole, the To Kantewoe and the To Peana is almost the same, it seems as if those three once had been one people that in all probability came from the south along the left bank of the Koro going with the River first to the north, then to the west.

I am, however, to come back to this question when I have dealt with the To Benahoe, a tribe no doubt closely related to the Oema speakers.

To Benahoe.*

Map 11.

During my short visit to Benahoe I heard no legends of the origin of the To Benahoe that could give any hints of their migrations. The To Benahoe are no doubt related to the Oema speaking tribes. According to Adriani they speak the same language as the To Peana, the To Kan-

*This name often is written Benasoe or Banasoe, *h* and *s* being equivalent.

tewoe and the To Tole, thus Oema. He says that some time this language is also called *aria*. He writes as follows: »Een enkelen keer hebben wij de oema-taal ook *aria* hooren noemen. Het ontkenningsswoord oema wordt namelijk soms aangevuld tot o e m a r i a, er is niet(s)' en dit wordt weder verkort tot *aria*.»

I will not pronounce an opinion on this explication of *oema* and *aria*, but when Adriani says that Oema is also the language of the To Tobakoe, I must declare this to be a mistake. The To Tobakoe speak as we already know Ompa. My experiences of Oema and Aria do not agree with those of Adriani. The negation of *aria* I only heard the To Benahoe using, never the To Peana, the To Kantewoe, or the To Tole. All over Pipikoro the To Benahoe were said to speak a dialect differing more from the Oema dialects than these dialects differ from each other, and the negation of the To Benahoe was said to be *aria* and not *oema*. When I visited Benahoe I only heard the natives using the negation of *aria*. The *Aria* language, however, cannot be very different to the Oema dialects, since an Oema speaking native and one speaking *Aria* have no special difficulty in understanding one another.

Oema and *Aria* can hardly be very old languages. The ancestors of the present Oema and *Aria* speakers no doubt spoke the same language. In migrating they settled in two districts rather isolated from one another, some natives going to live on the center part of the Koro and its tributaries, others settling on the Karangana, a big tributary of the Koro. The To Benahoe thus in all probability must belong to the tribes that came to Pipikoro from the south. Presumably they parted from the rest at the mouth of the Karangana in the Koro, following the Karangana toward its source.

There is also the possibility that the To Benahoe did not follow the Karangana from the mouth but came from the north along the Mokoë Valley. Then passing the ridge

that separates this valley from the Mopahi Valley, they have crossed the Karangana and settled where they still live. There is, however, nothing making it likely that they came that way.

There is a third way by which they may have come, i. e. from the SW. along the Karangana Valley, following the River from its source toward its mouth in the Koro. But it is not likely that they came that way either. At the source of the Karangana we find vast, native forests not inhabited, and if we examine the settlements of the To Benahoe in the Karangana Valley, we shall find that the village of Benahoe is older than the smaller villages which are found further up the Karangana Valley, such as Lida, Paria, Masewoe, and some other villages which all are recorded as colonies of Benahoe itself.

I think it most likely that the To Benahoe followed the Karangana from the mouth of the River, but if they all that time proceeded along the SE. mountain slopes until they reached the Benahoe Plain is uncertain.

Possibly they first have taken possession of the Mopahi Plain, cultivating it partly. Not far from the present village of Mopahi I found in a grove some blocks of stone in some way or other worked by man, indicating the site of some old dwelling place. Since the natives do not know anything of a village having been situated here, the stones possibly belong to natives living here before the To Benahoe. There is, however, no proofs of the country being populated when the To Benahoe arrived in their present district, although, at more than one place, migrating Toradja tribes may have met with tribes whom they drove off or brought under the yoke.

The present village of Mopahi was, according to the natives, no remainder of some older village but was said to be a Benahoe colony.

If the To Benahoe first occupied the Mopahi Plain, this plain, not being very large, could not feed a numerous

population, and consequently the To Benahoe would soon have had to look out for new land to cultivate. When they discovered the large plain of Benahoe they moved to this place.

In favour of the assumption that the To Benahoe occupied the Mopahi Plain before they took possession of the Benahoe Plain speaks the fact that the road, if I may use such a word for a native foot-path or trail, from the districts in the east to Benahoe, does not run all the time on the right bank of the Karangana straight from Haroebokoe to Benahoe, but it makes a curve to Mopahi on the western bank and then returns to the right bank.

Summary of the migrations of the To Pipikoro. Map 11.

As I have mentioned before, all the Oema speakers as well as the Aria speaking To Benahoe no doubt are branches of a group of natives that, coming from the south, took possession of the districts on the Koro and its tributaries, the country called Pipikoro. This group in all probability nearest came from Bada, following the eastern bank of the Koro until they reached Bokoe, or possibly somewhat further to the north, before spreading in various directions. That this people did not follow the western but the eastern bank of the Koro is almost sure, since the western bank of the River south of Bokoe is covered by native forests not touched by man. The forests of the eastern bank have evidently long ago given way to the fields of the natives. There are still more traces of old settlements, and the path from Bada to the districts of the NW. runs along the eastern bank of the Koro. This path is in all probability very old.

In the neighbourhood of Bokoe the eastern bank of the Koro becomes rather steep and hard to force. On the western bank there are here and there small terraces and plains, suited for settlement and cultivation. Here we also find some villages as Kakampoa, Panimanoea, Haroebokoe, and finally Halonio somewhat south of the mouth of the Karangana in the Koro. On the eastern bank we have here only a couple of very small villages which are comparatively young Bokoe colonies.

Thus, it seems likely that the people, migrating once from the south, in the neighbourhood of the present Bokoe crossed over from the eastern bank of the Koro to the western. Only a smaller contingency went on along the eastern bank of the River until they reached Gimpoe and Winatoe where they settled. They must, however, have had much intercourse with the tribes, living on the western bank of the Koro, and they cannot have separated from those very long ago, since their Oema dialect has not differed much from the Oema dialects, spoken west of the Koro.

The principal part of the natives that passed on to the western bank of the Koro, had two ways to take: one following the western bank of the Koro, the other leading toward the Karangana Valley. Very likely part of the tribe took one way, the rest went the other way. Then they became rather isolated from one another, the Koro Valley running toward the north, that of the Karangana toward the SW, and then by and by their language developed into two dialects, Oema and Aria.

The group advancing toward the north went on till they reached the R. Mokoe and the R. Iamoi, the valleys of which they followed. Here they found the ground comparatively well suited to cultivation, and they settled in the present districts of Tole, Kantewoe and Peana.

At the time when this group attained their present districts, they were no doubt only one tribe that later differentiated into three closely related tribes, speaking three

dialects of Oema: the To Tole, the To Kantewoe and the To Peana. The differentiation was no doubt due to the circumstances of the nature and the ground.

As to the appearance the To Tole very much reminded me of the darker type of the district of Bada. The dress of the women also resembles that of the Bada women. The To Tole besides to a certain extent have the same technical skill as the To Bada.

As to the appearance of the To Kantewoe, they more resemble the To Tole than the To Peana, but they dress more like the To Peana. The To Peana are more good-looking and of a lighter brown than the To Tole and the To Kantewoe. Perhaps this may be attributed to the fact that Peana has been the seat of the chief of the country and the aristocracy, if I may use such a word. Thanks to a ground, very favourable to cultivation, the To Peana have been able to rise, physically as well as intellectually, above their neighbours.

As to the To Kantewoe they are no doubt to a certain extent mixed with the slaves that they brought home from Sekopada.

To Bokoe.

Map 11. Map 12.

Beside the Oema and Aria speaking tribes, mentioned on the foregoing pages, the natives of Bokoe usually are reckoned as To Pipikoro.

As I paid only a short visit to Bokoe, there was not sufficient time to make any careful researches. The To Bokoe consider themselves to be closely related to the To Bada. Certainly a very brisk intercourse is carried on between the To Bokoe and the To Bada, and the To Bokoe understand or even speak the language of the To Bada. What language the To Bokoe speak themselves I do not

know. My experiences of the To Bokoe are, however, that they do not understand Moma, but certainly Oema. Adriani says that the To Bokoe speak Oema, but I am afraid we cannot take this for granted, since he actually has made several mistakes as to the languages, spoken on the Koro.

If the To Bokoe really should be Oema speaking, they very likely talk a special Oema dialect. It may however be that Bokoe is a Bada colony, although there is a vast region of uninhabited land between Bokoe and Bada. Formerly there lay between Bokoe and Toeare in Bada a number of villages, nowadays no more existing. Close to the new Toeare there was the old Toeare which was left by the inhabitants because of the incessant attacks of the To Koelawi. In 1918 there were only three houses left, all nearly falling, surrounded by a very high bank of earth. Further to the north in the Toeare Valley there are old fields, originally cleared with fire, and north of these we find on a plateau, gently sloping toward the Koro, the ruins of the Bada village of Padanglolo, destroyed by the To Koelawi. Still further to the north on the same plateau, not very far from Bokoe, the natives said there was formerly a genuine Bada village, at present quite effaced.

In our days the To Bada have built two or three houses on the Koro, just opposite to Bokoe, where they lodge when trading with the To Bokoe.

However brisk the trade may be between the To Bokoe and the To Bada, it does not purport that these tribes are closely related. A study of Bokoe would no doubt be of great interest, since the culture of the To Bokoe apparently has been influenced by their neighbours in the north as well as by those in the SE. Yet they have kept some characteristics which differ from their neighbours. Strangely enough, there is a certain similarity between the To Bokoe and the To Rampi, living in the district of Rampi far south of Bokoe. In Vol. I of this series I have already pointed out the resemblance of the temples of Bokoe and Rampi, but of course

it is difficult to say if Bokoe was influenced by Rampi or vice versa. As, however, all the tribes of the districts round Bokoe seem to have moved more or less toward the north, it may be that some smaller group has migrated from the district of Rampi in the south, following the western bank of the R. Rampi and the Koro until they reached Bokoe.

To Bada.

Map 12.

SE. of Bokoe further up the Koro where this river is called the Belanta and goes almost straight toward the west, the To Bada live in the heart of Central Celebes. They trade with the To Bokoe, as mentioned before, and perhaps even are related to them.

Kruijt is sure that the To Bada have come to their present district from the north, and this opinion he founded on some observations that he made in Bada.

In this district there are a number of big statues of stone. When Kruijt visited Bada in 1908 he saw only four of them, one at Bomba, one at Boelili, one at Badangkaja, and one at Gintoe. He says that all these statues turn their face to the north, and because of this he takes it to be likely that the ancestors of the To Bada came from the north.

When I was in Bada in 1918 I used a compass to ascertain in which direction the statues were looking. Of eight statues that I examined only two can be said to face north. The rest do not seem to have been placed so as to face any particular point, three of them more or less facing west, one facing east, one south, one NE., and one SE.

How the statues of Badangkaja and Gintoe are placed I cannot tell, since I never had the opportunity of seeing

them. Evidently Kruijt's conclusion that the ancestors of the To Bada came from the north because the statues face this point is a little bit precipitate.

Another reason for thinking that the To Bada came from the north Kruijt sees in the site of the temples. He says that the entrance of these structures is situated in the southern gable, thus a person entering the temple, will face north from where the tribe came. But this statement is not quite correct either. When I visited Bada there were only two temples left, but of these two the temple of Gintoe had the entrance in the northern gable.

Of course we cannot found any conclusions on such weak reasons as these. The only reason speaking in favour of the hypothesis that the To Bada came from the north is that, according to Kruijt, the natives imagine their departed to go to a place north of Bada. But I am afraid all natives of Bada are not of the same opinion, because when I was in Bada an old native of Boelili told me that his tribe considered the land of the departed to be somewhere in the SE. in the direction of Malili. Some other Bada natives said that the statues had been made by a people called To Ra that was supposed to have come from Malili. This may perhaps denote the To Bada as having originally lived in some district further to the SE., but all these statements of the natives seem too weak to allow any definite conclusions, especially as I did not hear any tales or legends that could confirm the presumption of a migration from the south.

Under these circumstances we must content ourselves with the conclusions that can be derived from what we know of the settlements, the villages and the colonies of the To Bada.

Of the villages scattered over the Bada Plain two or possibly three are said to be the original ones. These are Boelili and Badangkaja, and perhaps also Gintoe. The rest are colonies of these three.

No doubt Badangkaja and Boelili are really old dwelling places, because we find in these villages a great number of stones, cut in the shape of a mortar, no doubt remainders from an earlier period. The present inhabitants of Bada do not know how to carve in stone. As to the relative age of the three above mentioned villages, Gintoe no doubt is the youngest. Badangkaja and Boelili both look very old, but it may be that Badangkaja is the older of the two, since it is also called Badampoeö which means »the proper Bada«, a name pointing out this village as the most important and perhaps the oldest of the district.

If we study a map of Bada we find Boelili as well as Badangkaja in the southern corner of the district, i. e. the place to which a tribe advancing from the south must come, owing to the nature of the ground.

Gintoe is pushed forward a little more to the north, not far from the mouth of the Malei in the Koro, or as it is called here the Tawaelia, i. e. just before this river leaves the proper Bada Plain.

The other villages on the Plain, Bewa, Kanda, Pada, Bomba, Lelio, and Kolori, the latter at present left by the natives, are all situated NE. of Boelili and Gintoe. As they are all colonies, founded by inhabitants of the three oldest villages of Bada, the natives have evidently proceeded in the Bada Plain from the SW. to the NE.

Kruijt quotes a legend that confirms the presumption that the villages in the NE. are colonies of the old villages in the SW. He says that the natives have told him that Bomba was founded by some men from Boelili who, strolling about, discovered the statue that is standing nearly in the center of Bomba. The discovery of the stone caused the founding of the present village of Bomba.

According to the natives the villages of Kamba and Bangkekae were founded by people from Boelili. Tinoë was said to be a very old village. When I stayed in Bada in 1918 I had only the opportunity of visiting Bangkekae,

but the village that I saw was a new village, having very little to do with the really old villages.

On Kruijt's map 'Tinoë is marked as a village that is not inhabited, but when I was in Bada the natives said people were living at the village.

Beside the above mentioned villages, there are some villages further to the west and to the NW., also founded by To Bada. These are Lengkeka, Tomihihi, and Kageroa near the Belanta as the Koro is called here. Further there are the two villages of Toeare of which the one in the south is rather young as mentioned before. If we proceed still further to the north we find at many places fields, cleared with fire, and here and there a lonely hut, belonging to the To Bada. On a plateau north of the Toeare Valley, already mentioned in connection with the To Koelawi and the To Bokoe, there formerly were two villages of which at present only remain the fortifications round Padanglolo.

All these villages were founded by natives from the oldest villages of Bada. Thus, the natives have moved from the SE. corner of the Bada Plain not only toward the NE. but also toward the NW. In the latter direction they were stopped by the To Koelawi and not only stopped but actually driven somewhat back, retiring from their fields in the Toeare Valley and on the plateau north of this valley.

There is thus in the settlements of the natives in the Bada Plain nothing indicating that they should have come from the north, because it would be very curious indeed if they first crossed the whole plain and settled in the southern corner and from there proceeded toward the north.

As many other Toradja tribes the To Bada have founded colonies at a rather great distance from their own country. Such colonies rose at places often visited by the natives of a tribe for some reason or other, perhaps for trade, for the purpose of making salt, or of collecting resin in certain forests.

The To Bada have such a colony, a rather big village called Boejoempondoli, at the northern end of Lake Poso. The intercourse between the inhabitants of this colony and the natives living in the neighbourhood, soon became intimate. Kruijt writes the following:

»Een gevolg van de talrijke bezoeken, welke To Bada aan het Meer brachten, is het ontstaan van het dorp BoejoemPondoli aan de Noordzijde van het Meer, oorspronkelijk eene Bada'sche kolonie. Al spoedig kvamen Bare'e-Toradja's in die Bada'sche kolonie huwen; vooral lieden van het dorp Towale aan den Oostoever van het Meer zochten daar hunne vrouwen.»

Bada communicates with Boejoempondoli by means of a foot-path from Bomba. It runs toward the FNF., crossing the Fennema mountains.

We meet some Bada natives still further to the east. Natives of Bada as well as of many other districts have settled on the Soemara River, just north of the Tomori Bay to collect resin in the big forests of these tracts.

If we turn to the NW., the other direction in which the To Bada have enlarged their territory, we find a Bada colony on the lower Koro, far beyond the proper Bada. The name of this colony is Oee Koeni.

I do not know if there are any more colonies, belonging to the To Bada, I never saw or heard of any. Any colonies in the south there was at any rate not. But it is not excluded that some To Bada on their migrations have settled even in N. Celebes in the mountains beyond Toli Toli.

If we are allowed to conceive the spread of the To Bada in their own district and the colonizing beyond this district as a continuation of their earlier migrations, it seems very likely that they gained their present country by the road that still leads from the south. But as the population of Bada no doubt is composed by at least two different types, a fact already pointed out by the Sarasins, it may be that both types did not come from the south. Nevertheless the

majority, the appearance of which very much reminds one not only of the inhabitants of Pipikoro but also of the To Behoa, presumably belong to the group of natives that came to Central Celebes from the south.

Whether the light brown people of Bada came from the south or not is not known.

To Behoa.

Map 13.

In his great work »De Bare'e-Spekende Toradja's» Kruijt only says of the origin of the To Behoa that, according to tradition, they have come from the district of Napoe in the north, but he does not know of a single legend confirming such a presumption. Nor do we in his account of his journey to Napoe and Behoa in 1908 find any legends indicating the To Behoa as having come from Napoe.

Only one village, Lempe, seems to have been founded and inhabited by natives from Napoe. These natives, however, were no genuine To Napoe. In the above mentioned account of Kruijt's journey to Napoe and Behoa we read the following:

»De lieden van Hoekoe¹ vormden een apart stammetje, met wie de echte To Napoe zich later hebben vermengd; men wees ons nog een man, *Oemana Lili* genaamd, aan als rechtstreekschen afstammeling van de To Hoekoe. In den ouden tijd moet het dorp Hoekoe door de Mandarezen (To Mene) zijn ingenomen, waarna het grootste deel van dit volkje naar het landschap Besoa verhuisde, waar hunne nakomelingen nog het dorp Lempe bewonen.»

¹ Hoekoe, Pampoja, and Karoengkaratoe were three villages situated in the western part of Napoe. When Kruijt paid his first visit to Napoe, they were said to have been abandoned long ago, and there were no more traces of them.

Even if there is a reality behind this legend, of course it does not mean that the population of Behoa came from Napoe, Lempe evidently not at all being the oldest village of Behoa since Kruijt writes the following:

»De menschen van Hoekoe uit Napoe, die zich in het dorp Lempe vestigden, kwamen in den tijd toen de To Behoa reeds goed en wel in hun land gevestigd waren.»

Any legends telling of the migrations of the To Behoa I do not know of, nor have I heard anything of their ideas of the land of their departed.

If we study the settlements of the To Behoa in their present district, and especially the age of the villages, we may get an idea of the direction in which the cultivation and the colonisation have proceeded.

The district of Behoa chiefly comprehends the vast plateau at the source of the Torire but also extends along the Torire Valley as far as to its mouth in the Tawaelia. The boundary in the north has, according to Kruijt, from time out of mind been the Rompo River, parting Behoa from Napoe.

If the inhabitants of Behoa had come from the north, we could expect to find the oldest villages in the northern part of the district, i. e. in the lower Torire Valley and the younger ones in the southern part of the Behoa plateau. But in reality it is just the reverse. The oldest villages are situated in the south, the younger ones in the north.

The natives told Kruijt that the oldest village of their country was called Longkea having been situated on a plain, Pada ri Longkea, in the SW. corner of the Behoa plateau, somewhat SW. of the present village of Hanggira. According to tradition Longkea was a village of uncommon power, counting no less than 1700 men among its inhabitants. Longkea, however, was invested by the Mandarese (To Mene) from the west coast of Celebes, and finally, after having for a long time resisted the attacks of the enemy, it fell into the hands of the To Mene. But then a great

number of its inhabitants had already fallen. The rest were brought to Paloe as prisoners, from where they some years later were allowed to return to their own country that in this way was populated again.

What there is at the bottom of this legend is difficult to say. Of Longkea there was, according to Kruijt, in 1908 still left part of the high bank of earth, surrounding it.

Presumably the village of Behoa, at present no more existing, was one of the oldest villages of the district, if not the oldest of them all, save perhaps for the above mentioned Longkea, since the district and the people have been named after this village. It was said to have been situated higher up on the slope of the mountains SW. of the village of Doda, i. e. in the SE. corner of the Behoa plateau. Kruijt writes the following of the name of this village:

»Den naam Besoa hebben deze vallei-bewoners ontleend aan den berg Besoa, niet ver ten Z. Westen van Doda gelegen. Daar stond het oude dorp, waar de 'To Besoa woonden.»

From this village the natives presumably spread, founding the villages of Doda, Bariri, Hanggira, Podonia, Rano, and Bangkeloeho. Either these villages are direct colonies of the old Behoa, or some of them have been founded later by natives from a Behoa colony. I do not know which of these villages are old and which are of later date. When I visited Behoa they all had lost their original appearance. They were built after a scheme, assigned by the Dutch Government. Thus, although the villages may still be situated at the old place and the houses built in the old native style, they have lost the characteristics of an old village, which makes it almost impossible to form an opinion of the real age of these villages. Podondia, however, is very likely of late date, since this village is not mentioned neither by Kruijt, nor by Kiliaan in 1908. Rano and Bangkeloeho have been left by the natives by order of the Dutch Government. The natives of Rano have moved to Hanggira, those of Bangkeloeho to Bariri.

North of the proper Behoa a great number of natives of this district have settled in the hilly region on the Torire River. To judge from what Kruijt writes in 1908 this colonisation was still going on. I quote his statements below:

»Wanneer men het dal van de Rompo-rivier is doorgetrokken, heeft men met de To Napoe afgedaan. In het dal van de niet minder groote Torire-rivier, die uit Besoa komt en zich in de Tawaelia stort, hebben zich uitgezwermde To Besoa gevestigd. Het eene droge rijstveld grenst aan het andere. De menschen uit deze streek hebben het dorp A r a gesticht. Vroeger moet het een groot dorp zijn geweest, maar de aardbeving van 1902 heeft het voor het grootste deel vernield; . . . Indien één land geschikt is voor sawah-rijstcultuur, dan is dit Besoa; en toch, ofschoon men daar de natte rijstvelden nooit geheel heeft verlaten, zooals in Napoe, *trokken toch hoe langer hoe meer To Besoa uit hun land om op de heuvels van den benedenloop der Torire droge rijstvelden aan te leggen.*»¹⁾

This evidently shows that the To Behoa proceeded over the Behoa plateau and along the Torire Valley from the south toward the north. But if the natives nowadays advance from the south to the north, they very likely only go on in about the same direction as they originally came to Behoa, i. e. the To Behoa very likely came from the south to their present country.

It is impossible to pronounce a definite opinion as to the place where the To Behoa gained the plateau of Behoa, or on the appearance of the present district of Behoa at that time, before we know more of the geology and archæology of this country.

It may, however, be that at this remote period, the large swampy plateau was a shallow lake, the banks of which, sloping in terraces, were suitable for settlement and cultivation. The natives originally arriving in Behoa, certainly did not come where we at present have the road along the

¹⁾ Printed in italics by the author of this book.

Tawaelia from Bomba in Bada to Doda in Behoa, but they no doubt went straight over the mountains between Bada and Behoa. At many places we can here trace the interference of man, since the native forest has been replaced by regrowing forest. Round the present road between Bada and Behoa on the contrary the forest is untouched.

When they arrived in Behoa, the natives presumably took possession of the western and the eastern banks of my hypothetic lake. There are here as well as in the southern part of Behoa a great number of old monuments from an older culture, comprehending enormous stone pots, gigantic statues and smaller objects of stone.

To judge from the map the settlements in the east emanated from Doda and went as far as to Bangkeloeho, and from there further along the Torire Valley. The settlement in the west presumably has passed the old Longkea or the younger Hanggira and proceeded up to Ponga, Pada Pokekea, and Rano, and perhaps still further to the NW.

West and NW. of the proper plain of Behoa there is a vast flat country that very likely once was cultivated. This country is like an enormous, gently sloping terrace, that from the high mountains in the west extends to the swampy plain of Behoa. This terrace is crossed by a foot-path, leading to Gimpoe. To judge from the appearance of this path a brisk traffic formerly was carried on here. Thus there is the possibility that Behoa formerly influenced the settling of Gimpoe and the culture of this district. There is in Gimpoe a village called Lawoea, inhabited by Behoa natives, but if this is an old settlement or only of later date I do not know. On my map I have for this reason only dotted the line going from Behoa in the direction of Gimpoe.

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To Napoe.

Map 13.

NW. of Behoa we find a vast plateau called Napoe, occupied by a people known as the To Napoe. The inhabitants of this plateau, however, do not seem to be a single tribe. In olden times the plateau presumably was populated by a number of small tribes, but if they all belonged to the same invasion, or if they came from different places is almost impossible to decide before we know something of the archæology of the country.

I had not the opportunity myself of visiting Napoe, thus I shall in the following have to stand on Kruijt's statements of this country.

What Napoe means is not known, the natives of Napoe, when speaking of themselves, not using this name. It is a name only used by the tribes living in the adjacent districts. Kruijt writes the following of this name:

»Wat 'Napoe' beteekent, of waaraan de bewoners van dit land hun naam hebben ontleend, is niet te zeggen; nergens in het geheele land is een riviertje of een berg te vinden met den naam Napoe.»

(Of the name 'To Pekoerehoea, used by the 'To Napoe themselves, Kruijt writes as follows:

»... midden in die moerassige vlakte verheft zich een circa 5 M. hooge heuvel als een op een zijner zijden liggend prisma. Deze kleine heuvel is zoo opvallend in dit vlakke grasland, ... Dit bergje toch heet Pekoerehoea, en naar dit bergje noemen de bewoners van dit land zich To Pekoerehoea. Een To Napoe zal zichzelf steeds met dien naam aanduiden, maar overal buiten hun land heeten zij To Napoe, en daarom is het 't best dat Napoe de officieele naam blijft.»

The names of To Napoe and 'To Pekoerehoea do not seem to cover one another altogether. As a rule, when speaking of the To Napoe, in this name is comprehended

all the inhabitants of the mountain district of Napoe, whereas, at least originally, the To Pekoerehoea only was the tribe living in the southern part of the plateau where we find their chief village Lamba. This tribe became later the masters of the whole mountain district and has embodied several small tribes. Besides, the so called To Napoe from their incessant plundering expeditions to the districts of the Poso Toradja brought home a great number of prisoners who became their slaves and with whom they mixed. The mixing of the To Napoe with foreign slaves finally went so far that perhaps only the noblest families of Napoe were pure race, and more than fifty percent of the inhabitants are said to be imported slaves. Because of this it nowadays is almost impossible to found any conclusions as to the immigration of the to Napoe into the country where they live at present only on basis of linguistic peculiarities, legends of migrations and the natives ideas of the land of their departed.

In his book »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Kruijt is of the opinion that the To Napoe came from the north, gaining their country by following the Tambarana River toward its source. He says:

»De ligging van hun zielenland en andere aanwijzingen doen vermoeden, dat de To Tawaelia en de To Napoe langs de Tambarana-rivier naar boven zijn gekomen.»

On the following page, however, he quotes a legend, according to which the To Napoe, just as the Bare-e Toradja, originally should have lived near Lake Poso, i. e. east or SE. of their present country, whereas there is not a single legend confirming his idea that the To Napoe have come the same way as the To Tawaelia along the Tambarana.

In his article of 1908 on Napoe and Behoa Kruijt says that the To Napoe imagine the land of their departed to be a place called Tineba, situated straight east of Napoe. If we approach Napoe from the east, we have to cross rather high mountains, the highest point of the road being

at Mount Sodanga, 2170 m. above the level of the sea. Before climbing this last mountain we arrive at a place, Kruijt tells us, by the To Napoe considered to be the land of their departed. He writes the following:

»Voordat men den laatsten klim daarheen begint, komt men aan een bergje, dat eene groote rol speelt in de geestenwereld der To Napoe. Dit punt heet Tineba. De To Napoe denken dat de zielen hunner afgestorvenen op dezen berg verblijf houden.»

In a note on page 110, Vol. II of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Kruijt further says:

»De Berg-Toradja's (To Koelawi, To Napoe enz.) kennen geen onderwereld... Hun zielenland is een bergstreek die eigenaardig genoeg niet ten Westen, maar ten Oosten van hun land ligt. Men zou hieruit oppervlakkig kunnen besluiten, dat deze Berg-Toradja's vroeger meer naar het Oosten hebben gewoond, zoodat dit hun zielenland ten Westen van hen lag.»

It is difficult to understand why it should be more superficial to think that the To Napoe came from the east than Kruijt's idea that all the mountain Toradja came from the north, in favour of which he has not given a single reason.

To me it does not seem at all unlikely that some of the tribes, at present occupying Napoe, came from the east, perhaps belonging to the same invasion as the To Koelawi and the To Lindoe. The disposition of these three, the To Koelawi, the To Lindoe and the To Napoe, has at least much in common, all of them being formerly extraordinarily keen and feared headhunters. But these questions of course cannot be answered only by means of some simple legends.

As mentioned before, the population of Napoe is not homogenous, and it may be that Tineba is not the land of the departed of all the tribes that compose the Napoe people, but only of a single tribe, which — we do not know.

The few legends quoted by Kruijt do not give us any hints as to the origin of the proper To Napoe or To Pekoerehoea.

On the Napoe Plain there are several villages and places where villages formerly were situated but all of these were by no means founded by the To Pekoerehoea. Only those situated in the SE. part of the Plain seem to be founded by them. The village of Sabingka in the east on the Poso road is no genuine Pekoerehoea village. Kruijt says of this village the following:

»Het (i. e. Sabingka) is de woonplaats der afstammelingen van Tabaloemore, een hoofd van Mowoemboe in de Posso-streek, dat zich in den ouden tijd met een Napoe'sch meisje in den echt heeft begeven.»

Further Kruijt tells us that this marriage was accomplished, because the chief of Mowoemboe had helped the To Napoe in a war with the To Lindoe. Owing to the great power of this chief, the To Napoe wanted to attach him to them and offered him a Napoe girl as wife and a piece of land where he could settle. He was brought to Napoe under great festivities, but the way did not lead over Tineba but straight from Lake Poso to Napoe.

In the western part of the Napoe Plain there were formerly some villages the inhabitants of which considered themselves as special tribes. Among these we notice the To Hoekoe who emigrated to Behoa, as mentioned before. Further there are the natives of Lenggara, situated between Hoekoe and Lamba, and those of Woeasa in the most northern part, who claim to be considered as special tribes. The natives of Wenoëa in the east, somewhat north of Sabingka, are said to have come from Tawaelia, i. e. they should be descendants of the To Pajapi. According to Kruijt there is a foot-path leading straight from Tawaelia to Wenoëa.

As the statements of literature concerning the settlements of the natives as well as of the age of the villages are too scanty to allow any conclusions as to the origin of

the To Pekoerehoea, there is at present nothing else to go by than the culture and the language of the tribe, compared to those of the tribes of the adjacent districts.

Linguistically Adriani considers the To Napoe to be distinctly different to the Bare-e speaking Toradja. He comprehends the languages of Napoe, Behoa, Bada, and Leboni in a group that he calls the »Oost-Toradja'sche bergtalen«, i. e. the Eastern Toradja mountain languages. The languages of Napoe, Behoa, and Bada he considers to be closely related to each other.

Although the To Napoe have mixed with their Poso Toradja slaves, this does not seem to have influenced the character of the Napoe language.

In their religious ideas the To Napoe show some characteristics, agreeing with those of their neighbours in the south and different to those of their eastern neighbours, the Poso Toradja.

If we turn to the material culture, we find it about the same from Leboni in the south through Bada and Behoa up to Napoe. I have in Vol. I of this series pointed out the similarity of temples as well as dwellings in these districts. There is, however, at Lampia in Napoe a temple having much in common with a temple of Poso type, no doubt owing to the influence of the enormous number of Poso slaves who lived in Napoe.

There is not only a similarity of temples and dwellings, the same is the case of the women's dress, the cut of it as well as its ornaments, the head rings and other adornments. The similarity of these districts is so striking that it can hardly be explained unless we presume that the tribes are closely related to each other. Thus it seems most likely that the proper To Napoe or To Pekoerehoea came from the south as well as the To Bada and the To Behoa.

The little we know of the settlements of the To Pekoerehoea confirms this presumption, the tribe being named after a hill in the southern part of the Napoe Plain, where

their oldest villages are found and from where they spread over the plateau. Partly peaceably, partly by war they finally became the masters of the whole plateau as well as of the district of Tawaelia north of Napoe. When finally the Dutch arrived on the scene, the To Napoe were actually even the masters of Pebatoe in the east.

Until further researches have been made of the pre-history of the district of Napoe, I think we must content ourselves with the presumption that the most important of the tribes living in Napoe came from the south belonging to the same invasion as the To Behoa and the To Bada and very likely also the To Leboni who will be treated in the next chapter.

To Leboni.

Map 12.

About two days walk south of Bada there is a plateau much like that of Bada. It is situated on a southern tributary of the Koro, called the Leboni. As I have not visited the district I have no experiences myself of this country. Literature has nothing to tell us of the legends or the migrations of the To Leboni, but to judge from the representations, published by the Sarasins and by Grubauer, the material culture seems here to be almost the same as in Bada. The external appearance of the natives of Leboni reminds one very much of the To Bada, and we thus may presume that the To Leboni belong to the group which comprehends the To Bada, the To Behoa, and the To Napoe, and possibly also the To Pipikoro.

The language of the To Leboni has special peculiarities that may be of great importance when we want to form an opinion of the kinship not only of the To Leboni

but also of the To Rampi and other tribes, as well as of the migrations of these tribes. I shall below quote in full what Adriani says of the language of the To Leboni.

»De taal van het landschap Leboni, die ook in Rampi en Rato wordt gesproken, staat door haar eigenaardig klankstelsel en door enkele verschijnselen van spraakkunstigen aard, eenigzinds afzonderlijk onder de Oost-Toradjasche Bergtalen. Niet dan na eenige aarzeling hebben wij besloten het Lebonisch bij de Oost-Toradjasche talen te tellen. Het voorkomen n. l. van *n*-vormen naast *m*-vormen in praeteritale beteekenis, en de afwezigheid van sommige geprenasaleerde klanken wijzen op engeren samenhang met de West-Toradjasche talen, speciaal het Oema (Pipikorosch, tusschen Koelawi en Bada) dan bij het Napoesch, Besoasch en Badasch valt aan te wijzen. Rampi ligt vlak ten Z. van het Oemataalgebied.»

The language of the To Leboni thus seems to indicate this tribe as belonging to the same group as their neighbours in the north. If these tribes proceeded from the south toward the north, it seems likely that the To Leboni partook in this migration. Due south of Leboni and especially in the SW. there are, however, very high, wild mountains, thus the tribe is not likely to have gained their present district straight from the south or the SW. The culture as well as the language of the To Leboni has, as could be expected, not much in common with the tribes living SW. of Leboni. But if we follow the Leboni toward its source, we soon arrive in a mountaineous region where we find a number of parallel valleys running from the NW. to the SE. The native forests on the slopes of the mountains are said to be cut down to give place to the fields of the natives. Thus, everything denotes that these tracts have been inhabited from olden times.

If we continue toward the SE., we soon arrive in the Kalaena Valley, drained by the Kalaena that empties into the Gulf of Bone. In this valley we find a number of set-

tlements. On the upper River, round its source, there is the district of Rato, the inhabitants of which speak the same language as the To Lebani. Thus it seems most likely that the To Lebani gained there present district proceeding from the SE.

To Rampi.

Map 12.

SW. of Bada and NW. of Lebani there is a district called Rampi the inhabitants of which, as mentioned before, according to Adriani should speak the same language as the To Lebani and probably are closely related to them.

I am, however, not convinced that the language is exactly the same in Rampi and in Lebani, because a Bada native said to me that the inhabitants of Rampi and Lebani do not speak the same language. I think it most likely that the natives of these districts speak two dialects, closely related to each other.

As to the culture of Rampi it seems to be somewhat different to that of Lebani, and at the same time it resembles that of Bokoe in the north and thus also that of Pipikoro. Presumably the To Rampi are related not only to the To Lebani and the tribes further to the north as the To Bada and the To Behoa, but also to the To Bokoe and the To Pipikoro in the NW.

It is impossible to get an idea from where the To Rampi came to their present district by means of the scanty statements concerning this tribe which are found in literature. But if we may presume that they were a small part of the group that I have called the Koro Toradja, they have in all probability migrated from the SE. toward the NW. i. e. they have from the Lebani Valley in the

'SE. in some way or other gained the valley of the Rampi, either they followed the Leboni to the mouth in the Rampi or, which seems more likely, they have, somewhat south of the junction of the two rivers, nearly followed a line where nowadays we have the road between Rampi and Leboni.

To Rato.

Map 14.

East of Leboni there is a small valley called Rato, of the same appearance as Leboni and Bada and many other valley basins in Central Celebes. This valley does not belong to the area that is drained by the Koro and its tributaries but to that of the Kalaena.

The inhabitants of Rato speak, according to Adriani, as mentioned before, the same language as the To Leboni. For several reasons, however, I think it most likely that it is not exactly the same as the Leboni language but differing from it at least as a dialect.

Of the To Rato Kruijt writes the following in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's»:

»De menschen, die deze inzinking bewonen, zijn afkomstig van Rampi en Leboni; de kennis van de sawahbewerking hebben zij vandaar medegebracht, zoodat een gedeelte van de vlakte voor natte-rijstcultuur is ingericht. Wij komen hier dus in aanraking met Toradja's van de Sadanggroep. Eenige overlevering omtrent de reden, waarom men uit Rampi en Leboni hierheen zou zijn getrokken, wist men ons niet mee te deelen. Ook omtrent den tijd waarop de vestiging moet hebben plaats gehad, wist men ons niets te vertellen. Wel vernamen wij eene overlevering als zouden de To Saloe Mago het land van Maboeng-

ka van de To Rato hebben 'gekocht', maar andere spreken dit tegen. Weinig Bare'e-sprekers uit deze streek verstaan iets van het Leboni'sch der To Rato, met wie zij veel in aanraking komen en onderling huwen; maar nagenoeg alle To Rato spreken Bare'e.

Het is een klein volkje, dat bovendien nog in 1908 gedeceimeerd is door de pokken. Zij hebben één klein onaanzienlijk dorp Pongkelo¹⁾ ('lokmiddel') genaamd, waarin men zich echter alleen bij gelegenheid van offerfeesten verzamelt; den overigen tijd woont men verspreid op de rijstvelden.»

These statements are rather peculiar. Kruijt says expressly that the To Rato are a branch of the Saadang Toradja who occupy the SW: part of Central Celebes, whereas his co-operator in the work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» classes them as East Toradja. It seems almost as if the two authors of this work did not know that they often are of a different opinion on quite a number of questions, since they never discuss them.

Kruijt says that the To Rato are descendants of the To Rampi and the To Leboni who settled in the Rato Valley, but he does not give us a single fact on which he founds this presumption. The natives had no legends telling why people from Leboni and Rampi had settled here.

For my part I must confess that I am more inclined to think that the To Rato came from the SE. According to tradition their neighbours in the SE., the To Saloe Maoge, bought part of their country from the To Rato. But how could they do so, if the To Rato did not once possess and make use of the land SE. of their present district?

Thus, the only legend of the To Rato quoted by Kruijt points to a migration of the tribe from the SE. toward the NW., the same direction in which the tribes living on the Koro have moved.

¹⁾ Kangkelo on Kruijt's and other maps.

To Saloe Maoge, To Poeoe mBoto, To Bantjea (= To Binowi), To Laiwonoe.

Map 14.

The tribes which I in my Swedish book »I Celebes Obygder» have comprehended to a group called the Koro Toradja live in a district that on the east as well as on the west is bounded by inaccessible mountains and forests. The boundaries in the north and the south are more difficult to fix.

South of Rato the Kalaena Valley extends toward the SE. This valley is inhabited by tribes that Adriani and Kruijt classify as Poso Toradja. But I do not think we can absolutely join this opinion, chiefly founded on Adriani's linguistic researches. The culture of the To Saloe Maoge, the most important of the tribes living here, has indeed very much in common with that of the most southern tribes belonging to the Koro Toradja, such as the To Bada and the To Leboni. The resemblance is so striking that even Kruijt particularly points out this fact in the following lines:

»En inderdaad merken wij aanstonds op dat in taal en gewoonten der To Saloe Maoge (en de onmiddellijk van hen stammende To Poe'oe mBoto aan het Posso-meer) en die der To Bada en To Leboni veel minder verschil bestaat, dan bijvoorbeeld tusschen een To Lage en een To Koelawi. De kleeding der vrouwen (het conservatiefste van beide geslachten) komt bij de To Saloe Maoge, To Leboni en To Bada sterk overeen, terwijl ook in het voorkomen der mannen wij ons nog menigmaal vergissen, waar wij meenen een To Bada voor ons te hebben, terwijl het een To Poe'oe mBoto blijkt te zijn. Een algemeen bij de nog heidensche Toradja's van de Parigi'sch-Kaili'sche groep in zwang zijnd gebruik, om de snijtanden der meisjes uit te slaan, vinden wij wat betreft de Posso'sch-Todjo'sche group alleen bij de Toradja's in het bronnengebied van de Kalaena terug, . . . »

If we were allowed to draw any conclusions from this it would of course be that the To Saloe Maoge should be classed with the Koro Toradja, since Kruijt says that even their language agrees with the language of the To Lebani and the To Bada. But for the present we leave the classification of the To Saloe Maoge, and we shall open to discussion the question of their migrations.

According to the legend the To Saloe Maoge should be one of the tribes originally living at the northern end of Lake Poso at the village of Pamona which, according to Kruijt, was said to have been destroyed by the To Wotoe, a tribe living on the coast of the Bone Gulf at the mouth of the Kalaena. Pamona was by several tribes belonging to the Poso Toradja considered to be their original home from where they had spread over the eastern part of Central Celebes. Kruijt writes the following:

»Toen Pamona verlaten werd en de Bare'e-sprekers zich in verschillende richtingen verspreidden, trok ook eene afdeeling over het Takolekadjoe-gebergte en vestigde zich op eene plek, W a t a n g K o e m e, recht ten zuiden van Tawi op den rechteroever der Kalaena.»

For several reasons such a migration is not likely, but I am coming back to this question later.

According to the legend the village of Tawi was founded by natives from Watangkoeme. Those two villages thus should be the oldest ones of the To Saloe Maoge. From these villages they spread toward the upper course of the Kalaena where we find the villages of Kawanga, Moengkoe Lande, Oec Magoegoe, and Waliane on the right bank of the River, Maboengka and Sapelemba on the left bank.

Some natives from the latter two villages went over the mountains in the NE. and settled the plain south of Lake Poso. Kruijt says as follows of this colonisation:

»Van de beide laatstgenoemde dorpen trok men weer over de bergen, waarover de voorvaderen in Saloe Maoge

waren gekomen en vestigde zich in de vlakte van de Kodina ten zuiden van het Posso-meer; deze verhuizers zijn de tegenwoordige To Poe'oe mBoto.»

According to Kruijt Lembongpangi and several villages further down the Kalaena Valley as far as to the coast plain on the Bone Gulf are founded by natives from Tawi and are still occupied by their descendants.

How the To Saloe Maoge migrated is of course difficult to control, but some of Kruijt's statements seem rather questionable. Especially the supposed origin from Pamona seems improbable.

If we assume that Pamona was attacked and destroyed by the To Wotoe who lived in the lower Kalaena Valley or on the coast of the Bone Gulf, this tribe had hardly any other way to take when going to Pamona than following the Kalaena Valley, crossing the Takolekadjoe mountains and gaining the plain south of Lake Poso. From this plain they could have followed either the left or the right bank of the Lake. In all probability they followed the eastern bank, being more practicable than the western one. When the inhabitants of Pamona were attacked by an enemy advancing from the south on the eastern bank of the Lake, I suppose they could not flee in that direction and they could not have passed the plain south of the Lake unmolested by the To Wotoe.

The only way possible to take for the To Saloe Maoge seems to have been to follow the inaccessible mountains of the western bank of the Lake. But if the founders of Wangkoeme had come that way, they can hardly be said to have crossed the Takolekadjoe mountains.

The whole story of Pamona as the origin of the To Saloe Maoge is so fantastic and so queer that it is difficult to know what to think of it. Perhaps there is nothing else at the bottom of it than the wish of the tribes belonging to the Poso Toradja and the tribes that have been more strongly influenced by them to transfer their origin to Pamona.

We have, as mentioned before, an analogy among the Paloe Toradja and some of their neighbours, i. e. tribes that have been more or less dependant of Sigi in the Paloe Valley. All of them believe or want to imagine that their origin is Sigi, or at least that their chiefs are related to the royal family of Sigi. In other words it is »high toned» to be from Sigi.

In a note Kruijt says the following of the origin of the To Saloe Maoge that I suppose is more likely to come near the truth.

»Een oud hoofd in Saloe Maoge vertelde, dat zijn voorouders zich het eerst gevestigd hadden te Watoe Mora'a, een nagenoeg onbewoonbare bergtop ten Oosten van de Takolekadjoe. Daar dit Watoe Mora'a in meer overleveringen voorkomt vermoeden wij, dat het een legendarisch plek is.»

To me it seems much more likely that the To Saloe-maoge came from some place in the east than from Pamona in the north, considering that they proceeded from Watangkoeme toward the NW. up the Kalaena Valley and toward the NE. to the plain south of Lake Poso.

How it is with the settling of the lower Kalaena Valley we do not know for certain. Kruijt only says that the inhabitants are descendants of the To Saloe'Maoge, but he does not tell us the reason on which he founds this presumption.

If we leave this uncertain spread of the To Saloe Maoge out of consideration it seems as if they on the whole had migrated in the same direction as the Koro Toradja, i. e. from the SE. part of Central-Celebes toward the north and later to the NW and the NE. Presumably they belong to the same stream of people that settled on the banks of the Koro and its tributaries. Whether the To Saloe Maoge and their descendants the To Poeoe mBoto should be classed with the Koro Toradja or not is, however, difficult to say at present.

No authentic anthropological characteristics of the tribes of Central Celebes seem to be known, but often we notice that a tribe has more in common with a certain tribe than with the rest. That is why I would again call the attention to what Kruijt says of the appearance of the To Poeoe mBoto and the To Bada. He says that more than once when he thought he saw a Bada man, it was a To Poeoe mBoto. As Kruijt no doubt knew the different Toradja types more than well, it would be very strange indeed if he often mistook a To Bada for a To Poeoe mBoto, if the resemblance between these two had not been so striking that it could only be founded on kinship.

The culture of the To Saloe Maoge and the To Rato, the To Leboni, and the To Bada in the north is on the whole the same, although we meet among the To Saloe Maoge some characteristics originally belonging to the Poso Toradja. This is for instance the case of the construction of their temples. Such agreements seem to be still more common among the To Poeoe mBoto, which is quite natural since they live close to the proper Poso Toradja. In their religious ideas the To Saloe Maoge seem to agree with their neighbours in the north.

Under these circumstances we should not hesitate to class the To Saloe Maoge with the Koro Toradja if it had not been for the language. Adriani says it is thus conditioned that it must be classed with the Bare'e languages.

The statements of Adriani as well as of Kruijt, however, are such that I am tempted to put a mark of interrogation after them.

As we already know, Kruijt declares that the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto not only in their customs *but also in their language* are less different to the To Bada and the To Leboni than for instance a To Lage is to a To Koelawi.

Adriani classes the language of the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto as a subsection of the Bare-e language. He says as follows:

»Veel grooter dan het onderscheid tusschen het dialect der To Lage enz. en dat der To Pebato, is het verschil tusschen de beide laatstgenoemde dialecten (tezamen genomen) en dat der To Poe'oe mBoto, To Binowi (Z. en W. oever van het Meer), To Saloe Maoge (ten Z. van het Takolekadjoegerbergte) en To Laiwonoe. De dialecten dezer lieden kunnen worden te zamen genomen onder den naam van are'e-dialecten, daar zij het ontkenningwoord bare'e hebben verkoort tot are'e, hier en daar zelfs tot ae'e en aee. De spraak der To Laiwonoe, die nabij de N. kust der Bone-gulf wonen, is sterk vermengd met Boegineesch (de') en Wotoesch (laedo).»

Later, Adriani after having more carefully examined the language of the To Poeoe mBoto, ends with the following words:

»Bij het wijzen op deze trekken van overeenkomst tusschen het dialect van Poe'oe mBoto en de O. Toradjasche Bergtalen, mag niet worden verzuimd te herinneren aan de kleeding en haardracht der Poe'oe mBotosche vrouwen, welke geheel met die der Bergbewoners overeenkomt, terwijl ook het uitslaan der oog- en snijtanden gewoonte is zoowel bij de Poe'oe mBotosche vrouwen, als bij die der Bergbewoners.

Met het are'e of ae'e der To Saloe Maoge zijn wij niet zoo goed bekend als met het Poe'oe mBotosch, maar wij hebben tusschen hun dialect en dat der To Poe'oe mBoto nimmer eenig verschil kunnen opmerken. Trowens de To Poe'oe mBoto komen uit Saloe Maoge.»

To me it seems more correct to class the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto with the Koro Toradja than with the Poso Toradja, although their negation are-e seems to be derived from bare-e. According to Kruijt the language of Saloe Maoge to a certain extent agrees with the language of Leboni, Rampi, and Rato as well as with Oema. It is to be noticed that just south of the area where Oema is spoken, we have a dialect the negation of which is *aria*. I have not

been able to compare this *aria* with the *are-e* of the To Saloe Maoge, but conceivably they are connected to one another.

In the same way as the material and the spiritual culture of the To Saloe Maoge has been influenced by that of the Bare-e speakers, the Bare-e language seems to gain ground on account of the languages spoken by the tribes west of the Bare-e speakers. Kruijt says for instance that in Rato almost every native knows how to speak Bare-e, whereas their neighbours in the south, do not understand their *Haoewa*. In a generation or two the present language of Rato may perhaps be replaced by the Are-e of their neighbours in the south. Thus it may be that language of the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto originally was no Bare-e language but later was strongly influenced by the language of the Poso Toradja.

If we class the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto with the Koro Toradja, it means that two other tribes also must be referred to this group. These tribes are the To Binowi or Bantjea and the To Laiwonoe. Of the former Kruijt writes the following:

»Aan den Westelijken oever van het Possomeer wonen de To Bantjea, zoo genoemd naar hun stamdoorp, dat op een der landtongen van het Meer gelegen was. Deze kleine stam had vroeger zijne nederzettingen voornamelijk in de vlakten van de Pandjo en de Saloe Kaia. Van laatstgenoemde rivier hadden zij zich reeds teruggetrokken, voordat het Gouvernement hier kwam, van wege den overlast dien de To Bada hun aandeden. Thans hebben zij zich samenge trokken in de beide dorpen Binowi en Taipa.

De To Bantjea komen in uiterlijk veel overeen met de To Poe'oe mBoto; waarschijnlijk zijn zij dan ook indertijd uit de vlakke van de Kodina naar die van de Pandjo verhuisd; maar de band tusschen beide afdeelingen is daarna zeer los geworden, zoodat zij beiden zich tot afzonderlijke stammen rekenen. Het is zeker, dat de To Bantjea ook Bada'sch bloed in zich hebben.»

The To Bantjea thus seem to be descendants of the To Poeoe mBoto who have migrated toward the NW. along the western bank of Lake Poso. They have proceeded rather far to the north, having occupied the plain on the lower Saloe Kaia. Here they, however, met with the To Bada and finally had to retire to the coast further to the south.

Thus we see that the migrating tribe that started, as far as we at present know, at Watangkoeme in the Kalaena Valley, proceeded toward the upper part of this valley, then crossed the Takolekadjoe chain going on to the Kodina Plain south of Lake Poso. From here the tribe proceeded along the western bank of the Lake, i. e. the migration of the To Saloe Maoge is analogic to that of the Koro Toradja.

Of the origin of the To Laiwonoe, living at two villages called Djaladja en Mambotoe on the Djaladja, a river west of the Kalaena, emptying into the Bone Gulf, nothing seems to be known, since Kruijt only says the following:

»Daar deze To Lewonoe¹⁾ echter reeds sedert menschengeheugnis Mohammedanen zijn, is de band tusschen hen en de andere heidensche stammen afgesleten.»

As they speak a language nearly related to that of the To Saloe Maoge and the To Poeoe mBoto, they may belong to the same group as these.

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Summary of the migrations of the Koro Toradja.

Map 15.

If we sum up our results as to the migrations and the spread of the so called Koro Toradja we find that there has in all probability been a stream of people going from the SE. to the NW. almost right over Central Celebes. It

¹⁾ = To Laiwonoe.

is of course difficult to say where this stream began but it seems to have been somewhere between the mouth of the Kalaena and Malili. From here the migrating people went along the Takolekadjoe mountains and the Kalaena Valley which they followed toward its source.

When they arrived at the upper Kalaena, one branch turned to the NE., crossing the Takolekadjoe mountains and gaining the southern shore of Lake Poso from where the natives proceeded toward the north along the western bank.

The main part of the migrating people proceeded northward until they arrived at the southern tributaries of the Koro where we nowadays have the district of Leboni. From Leboni the natives went on partly toward the NW. to Rampi, partly toward the north to Bada. From here they have advanced in two directions, some going northward to the source of the Tawaelia, the rest following the Koro toward the NW.

The natives that proceeded to the north, finally settled in the plains of Behoa and Napoe, and it is close at hand to presume that they also took possession of the little plain of Tawaelia north of Napoe. But Adriani and Kruijt have as it seems produced indisputable proofs of this district having originally been populated by the To Pajapi, a tribe that came, as we know from the foregoing, from the NE. along the Tambarana.

The natives that spread over Behoa and Napoe very likely penetrated toward the NW. when finding a valley facilitating their progress. From Behoa they presumably have gained Gimpoe. If they founded a colony already in olden times is uncertain, but, as I pointed out before, it seems likely that the intercourse between these two districts has been rather brisk.

From the tracts between Bada and Napoe a migration seems to have gone toward the NW. to the Toro Valley. In the Romo Valley there was formerly a path leading

straight to Toro. Along this path there have been some villages that were abandoned by the natives and at present are altogether blotted out. I suppose the path must be very old, since the natives said there was a statue like those in Bada and Behoa somewhere near it. Also in Toro there are said to be some stone monuments, resembling those of the two above mentioned districts, i. e. the culture that once had its principal seat in Bada, Behoa and Napoe has extended even as far as to Toro. How far toward the north this migration went is difficult to decide, but there are some reasons speaking in favour of the presumption that it even gained the districts that are drained by the Paloe River.

In the northern part of the Napoe Plateau there is a valley running toward the NW. The upper part of this valley is not far from the valleys leading to the districts of Lindoe in the NE. as well as to Palolo, a district more straight to the north, between Lindoe and Sigi.

Lindoe has of old communicated with Napoe by these valleys, and presumably the To Napoe following these valleys also gained Palolo. But there is another path that no doubt has been of much more importance. This path comes from the district of Tawaelia running toward the NW. straight to the valley of the Sopoe, following this river toward the NW. to Palolo and further to Sigi. Kruijt writes the following of this path: »Dit pad moet volgens de menschen een der oudste wegen in Midden-Celebes zijn.»

If this path really is so old as it is said to be, some migrating tribe or other may have passed here, either coming from the south or from the north. Some tribes living in the Paloe Valley probably took this way when they went out plundering their neighbours, but if they used it when looking out for new land to cultivate is uncertain. It is not unlikely that some fraction belonging to the stream of people that came from the SE. followed this path to Palolo and perhaps even gained Sigi.

In Palolo the dress of the women and the ornaments of their bodices point to Napoe and Behoa. Whether this depends on the To Palolo having borrowed the fashion from these districts or whether it is based on the kinship of the tribes, I cannot decide, but to judge from some photos from Palolo that the Swedish missionary Strandlund has placed at my disposal, the features of the Palolo girls very much remind me of the darker population of the districts in the south, which makes me think that the likeness of their dress is based on kinship of the tribes.

I also want to call the attention to the fact that in Palolo as well as in Sigi are found stones, hollowed out like mortars, so called *nondjoe dji* (mortars of the spirits) of the same kind that are very common in the districts in the south. This may indicate an influence in olden times from the culture further to the south. But of course only a close study of the question at the place can give a definite answer.

The spread of the group that took possession of Pipikoro I have already discussed, it only remains to examine whether this group parted from the one that migrated toward the NE. in Bada, or if the parting took place earlier, i. e. in Leboni. It is not excluded that part of the migrating people, when gaining the Rampi, followed the western bank of the River, proceeding northward on the left bank of the Koro to Bokoe and possibly still further. The main part of the ancestors of the Oema and Aria speakers may have followed the eastern bank of the Leboni, the Rampi and the Koro toward Bokoe and the mouth of the Karangana, or they proceeded from Leboni to the plateau of Bada, from where they advanced along the Belanta and the Toe-are toward the NW. To decide which way they took is at present impossible. The one seems just as possible as the other.

III POSO TORADJA.

To Pebato.

Map 16.

In the SE. the next neighbours of the Paloe Toradja are the To Pebato who occupy the country on the western bank of the River Poso from the mouth half way up to Lake Poso as well as the districts on the lower Poena east of the Poso. Originally the To Pebato did not live here but the To Pajapi were, as we already know, probably the masters of this country.

According to a legend, mentioned before, all Bare-e speaking Toradja are said once to have lived on Lake Poso. There are, however, no proofs of the To Pebato having done so, but yet it may be that this was the case. But it may also be that the To Pebato as a proper tribe cannot claim so old an ancestry but they may be a branch of some older Bare-e speaking tribe that perhaps came from the districts in the neighbourhood of Lake Poso. In the following account Kruijt has summed up what is known with some accuracy of the migrations of the To Pebato. He writes:

»Een deel van het gebied der To Pajapi werd later ingenomen door de To Pebato, hoogstwaarschijnlijk de jongste onder de Toradja-stammen. Hun stamdpw Wawo mPebato heeft aan den rechteroever der Posso gelegen, maar later hebben deze lieden zich verspreid over het land ten Westen van de rivier. Volgens het verhaal zijn de stamvaders der To Pebato afkomstig van Tinoë. Voor de jacht gingen zij menigmaal naar den berg, waarop later het dorp Pebato werd gebouwd. Aan den voet van dien berg hadden zij

lange scherpe bamboes (bato) in den grond geplaatst met de bedoeling dat herten en varkens daarin zouden loopen. Om dat zij telkens daarheen terugkeerden om te zien of de bamboes wild hadden gevangen, werd die plek en later het daar gebouwde dorp Pebato genoemd.

Het moet langen tijd geduurd, voordat de Toradja's naar de overzijde van de Posso-rivier zijn getrokken; mis-schein verstond men toentertijd nog niet de kunst haar te overbruggen. Het eerste dorp aan de overzijde was Waroë dat tot op den huidigen dag nog gewoonlijk woordt aangeduid met Lipoe n Toe'a 'het dorp der ouden'. Hier trokken de To Pebato zich in 1906 te zamen om zich tegen het Gouvernement te verzetten; bijtijds hebben zij echter nog het hoofd gebogen. Na Waroë werd Tamoengkoe, 'berg', dicht bij Wawo mPebato gesticht. Aanvankelijk bleven de To Pebato in het bovenland wonen; maar langzamerhand zakten zij naar het benedenland af. Verscheidene van de eerste lieden, die het zeestrand opzochten hebben wij nog als oude lieden gekend. Wij mogen dit feit dus op een 50 jaar geleden stellen.»

From this we learn that the oldest place that probably was inhabited by the To Pebato was Tinoë, situated NE. of Lake Poso and SE. of the present village of Batoe Non-tjoe. The natives of Tinoë founded Wawo mPebato further to the NW. but still on the eastern bank of the River Poso. From this place the natives proceeded further toward the NW., crossing the River and founding the village of Waroë which for a long time seems to have been of great importance to the tribe. When the natives had established themselves on the left bank of the River Poso, this part seems to have become the most important one. The country in the SE. was left, and only in the part of it that is situated where, near Maraajo, the Poso makes a big bend toward the west, the To Pebato seem to have remained. According to Kruijt some To Pebato founded the village of Tamoengkoe on the eastern bank of the Poso.

From Waroë the To Pebato chiefly seem to have spread along the ridge that is nearly parallel to the Poso, running between this river and the R. Poena. Formerly there were a great number of villages here, some of which we know for certain to have belonged to the To Pebato. Kruijt has on his map a great number of ancient villages in the district inhabited by the To Pebato, but he does not mention whether they all were To Pebato villages or not. Anyhow it seems to be certain that from the tract of Waroë the To Pebato chiefly advanced toward the north until they reached the coast of the Tomini Gulf.

Thus the To Pebato originally very likely lived somewhere near Lake Poso, and for some reason or other they migrated toward the NW. and the north, in the same direction as the Koro Toradja and some tribes belonging to the Paloe Toradja such as for instance the To Pajapi, the tribe that occupied the country west of the River Poso, before the To Pebato came to settle there.

According to Kruijt this migration took place comparatively late. But the reason he gives for the To Pebato not earlier being able to cross the R. Poso seems to me very doubtful indeed. May be that the Poso Toradja learnt to make ratan bridges at a comparatively late date, but it cannot be doubted that they nevertheless long ago knew of some means of crossing the Poso. Even the To Pajapi who before the To Pebato migrated from the SE. toward the NW. knew to make their way across the big rivers.

Kruijt thinks that the To Pebato only some fifty years ago reached the coast, which seems doubtful to me considering his statements concerning the To Pajapi.

According to Kruijt the final downfall of the To Pajapi must have taken place about eighty years ago, i. e. thirty years before the first To Pebato settled on the coast of the Tomini Gulf. But as we already know, the final conquest of the To Pajapi took place when they lived on the R. Kilo, i. e. in the district between the Tambarana and the Poena.

The tribe thus must have left the district between the Poso and the Poena already before this, at least a decennary or two before the calamity on the Kilo. Consequently the district near the coast between the Poso and the Poena should have been unoccupied for at least half a century, provided that it was not occupied by some other tribe than the To Pajapi and the To Pebato during this time. There are, however, no statements of this kind, and besides the To Pebato seem to have got this district as a present from the To Pajapi.

Very likely the To Pebato and the To Pajapi were rather closely related to one another. In his account of his journey with Adriani to Lindoe, Kruijt says that the To Pebato consider themselves to be related to the To Pajapi. Both of them have migrated from the SE. toward the NW., but the To Pajapi most likely proceeded in front of the To Pebato, and no doubt the latter reached the Tomini Gulf earlier than Kruijt thinks, or the final conquest of the To Pajapi happened later than he deems it to have done.

How far the To Pebato proceeded toward the NW. we do not know for certain, but anyhow it cannot have been far beyond the mouth of the Poena, as the village of Tokorondo as well as other villages in the neighbourhood of Saeoesoe, according to Kruijt, are small foreign settlements, chiefly belonging to the To Parigi. Whether Petimbe in the Paloe Valley is a Pebato colony or not we do not know for certain as Kruijt's statements on this point are contradictory.

To Lage.

Map 17.

On the eastern bank of the Poso from the coast half way up to Lake Poso live at present the To Lage which, according to Kruijt, should be one of the oldest tribes among the Poso Toradja.

The legend tells that the To Lage as well as the rest of the Bare-e speaking Toradja came from the village of Pamona north of Lake Poso. There are no proofs to be presented in support of the statement of the legend, but if we consider the direction in which the To Lage have proceeded in later times, it seems quite likely that the tribe has come from the south.

The oldest village of the To Lage seems to have been Wawo Lage which is considered to be their original village. It was situated on an eminence on the Sinaolea River where the River makes a sharp bend from the south to the west. The Sinaolea is a tributary of the Tomasa, discharging in its turn its waters into the Poso River.

Here the To Lage, fighting with their neighbours, must have developed into a comparatively strong and powerful people. At the end of the nineteenth century when the Dutch became an influence in this part of Celebes, the To Lage lived in a number of strong villages. Of Lage Kruijt writes the following in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's»:

»Het landschap Lage telde bij de komst van het Gouvernement verscheidene flinke dorpen, zooals Bandoa, Lepati, Tewengkoe e. a. Door overbevolking en daaruit volgend gebrek aan bouwgronden waren vele To Lage langs de Tongko-rivier naar beneden getrokken, en zoo hadden zij zich ook gevestigd ten Oosten van de monding der Posso-rivier. . . . De To Lage wonen thans in de dorpen: Sajo, Maliwoeko, Tagoloe, Matakoe en Djoe mBojo, terwijl een ander gedeelte zich bij de lieden van Imboe heeft gevoegd.»

If these communications are correct, we see that the To Lage, having increased in number, founded several villages in the region north of their original village as well as in that south of it. Finally the growth of the population became so considerable that the natives had to look out for some land outside of the region where they originally were settled. It then seems natural that they should have

followed one of the three big valleys: that of the Tomasa, or those of the two tributaries of this river, the Sinaolea and the Kinapapoea. However they did not but instead followed a more easterly valley, drained by the Tongko River. Not all emigrants seem to have proceeded along this valley as far as to the coast, but very likely some of them found their way over the mountains to the Poso Valley by which they gained the coast.

Kruijt does not give us an explanation of the fact that the To Lage only gained the coast by making a circuit. For my part I take it to be likely that their neighbours in the north, the To Kadomboekoe, prevented them from proceeding toward the north along their own valleys. Kruijt tells us that sixty or seventy years ago there was a war between the two tribes that lasted for a considerable length of time.

Beside this migration to the mouth of the Poso, the To Lage seem, although on a smaller scale, to have settled at different places on the coast east of Poso as far as to the basis of the NE. peninsula. Kruijt says for instance:

»Langs de Tongko en Malei. . . kwamen To Lage uit het binnenland naar de zee afzakken. . . ook aan de Matakorivier ontstond spoedig eene vestiging van To Lage.»

We thus see that the migration of the To Lage evidently has gone from the south toward the north.

To Kadomboekoe.

Map 17.

The natives belonging to this tribe lived north of the To Lage on the lower Tomasa. They seem chiefly to have occupied the district north of this river between two mountain ranges, Pelangkai¹⁾ in the south and Landjo in the north.

¹⁾ In Schetskaart van een deel van Noord- en Midden-Celebes, Batavia 1919, this range is called Telangkai.

On a summit of the Pelangkai range, in olden times was situated a village of the name of Kadomboekoe, the chief village of the tribe after which it was named To Kadomboekoe. On a top called Lebanoe of the northern range there were formerly some dwellings.

Kruijt has no positive information to give us as to their original place of residence, or of their migrations, but if we study what he tells us of this tribe we get the impression that it has moved in a certain direction.

According to Kruijt the To Kadomboekoe formerly were a rather big and powerful tribe, and at that time they occupied also the western bank of the Tomasa. This part of their country, however, seems at an early time to have come into the possession of the To Ondae. Kruijt has a long legend, showing that the To Ondae got this part as a reward, because of their murdering a certain person. The district in question afterwards was called Tana Inoli which is said to mean »the country that was bought».

The To Kadomboekoe seem to have been a martial tribe, fighting against the To Napoe, the To Lage as well as against the Mandarese.

Kruijt says in 1912 that about eighty years ago the To Kadomboekoe got into a quarrel with the Mandareze who conquered them and forced them to adopt Mohammedanism. The Mandareze returned over Ampibabo north of Parigi where some To Kadomboekoe who had accompanied them settled for good. Kruijt says as follows:

»Enkele To Kadomboekoe zijn de Mandareezen daaraan gevolgd, en hebben im Ampibabo nakomelingen gekregen, zoodat er tot nu toe familieverbandschap bestaat tusschen de To Kadomboekoe en de inwoners van Ampibabo.»

This war does not seem to have caused any special migration of the To Kadomboekoe save the above mentioned settlement at Ampibabo. No doubt the tribe was decimated by the wars. Especially the war that the To Lage

and the To Napoe carried on against the To Kadomboekoe seems to have become fatal to the latter. After three years it ended by the enemy taking the village of Kadomboekoe and destroying it. Presumably this war has contributed to make the To Kadomboekoe find their way toward the valley of the Poso River.

Nowadays the To Kadomboekoe are brought together by the Dutch Government in the villages of Watoe awoe en Pandiri.

The only removal in olden times that we know of thus seems to be their coming down from the mountain districts of Pelangkai and Landjo to the lower land east of the Poso. Yet it may be that they have originally been living further to the south. I have already mentioned their giving up Tana Inoli to the To Ondae, and Kruijt has from the To Pebato a legend, showing that the To Kadomboekoe may have possessed land further to the south, perhaps even on the western bank of the Poso.

The legend in question tells that a Kadomboekoe chief called Ta Garanggo gave a piece of land south of the Roemoeroe, a tributary of the Poso on the left hand, to the To Pebato when they had helped him to catch a runaway slave. We do not exactly know the boundaries of this land, since Kruijt only says: » . . . het zuidelijk deel van Pajapiland tot aan de Roemoeroe ».

Ta Garanggo, however, was no To Kadomboekoe; but a To Pajapi who a hundred years ago was elected chief of the To Kadomboekoe. This makes me think that the To Kadomboekoe and the To Pajapi were related to each other. To judge from what Kruijt tells us of them, both tribes seem to have been especially fond of fighting, and their unreasonableness caused them so many difficulties that finally they declined and became tribes of no importance.

To Rompoe.

Map 17.

East of Lage on the eastern bank of the Kinapapoea River, SE. of Kadomboekoe lives of old a tribe, called To Rompoe, at present of no consequence. According to Kruijt the tribe formerly was much bigger, but it seems that they were a restless people who liked to look up new places where they could establish themselves. Kruijt writes the following of them:

»In vroegeren tijd reeds zijn velen naar andere landschappen verhuisd, en daar zijn zij in een anderen stam opgelost.»

In this manner emigrants from Rompoe were absorbed by a tribe called To Poeoe mBana, living in the area that is drained by the Laa. Kruijt says:

»De To Poe'oe mBana die bij den voet van het Peleroe-gebergte woonden, zijn landverhuizers afkomstig van Lage en Rompoe »

Beside this migration Kruijt mentions another one going toward the NE. We read as follows:

»Een ander gedeelte heeft zijn verlangen naar de zee niet kunnen bedwingen en is naar het strand getrokken. Daar hadden zij aan de Bombalo-rivier een dorp gesticht, dat na de komst van het Gouvernement weer is verdwenen.»

This migration seems to be of rather late date, since Kruijt says of the migration of the To Rompoe and the To Lage to the R. Bombalo: »Deze verhuizingen dagteekenen echter niet verder terug dan 40 jaar.» He wrote this in 1912, thus the migration of the two tribes to the coast between Poso and Todjo should have taken place about 1870.

All that we positively know of the migrations of the To Rompoe is that part of them found their way toward the SE., part of them toward the NE.

It is remarkable that the To Rompoe, when migrating toward the SE. as well as toward the NE., were followed

by the To Lage. At present they live mixed up in the same district. As Kruijt does not mention any wars between these tribes, it seems to me as if they two were related to one another, perhaps originally were one tribe.

When the To Lage made their way to the sea, they did not as I already pointed out, take the shortest way which led along the Tomasa Valley where the To Kadomboekoe lived, but they followed the Tongko Valley, very likely because their neighbours in the NE., the To Rompoe, made no opposition when they passed through their district.

This confirms my presumption that the To Rompoe and the To Lage are rather closely related, in which case it is very likely that the former came from the same place as the latter, i. e. from the SW. from some place in the neighbourhood of Lake Poso.

To Peladia.

Map 17.

Just south of Lage we find a small tribe the country of which is called Peladia. Kruijt has not much to tell of the inhabitants of this district, the To Peladia. He writes the following:

»Tusschen de landschappen Onda'e en Lage woont een klein volkje, dat niet als een afzonderlijke stam wordt aangemerkt, maar dat den overgang vormt tusschen deze beide oude Toradja-stammen. Naar hun hoofddorp noemen zij zich To Peladia, en geven als Noordelijke grens van hun land op de beek Wata Nono, en als Zuidelijke de Pesigiwa, beide rechterzijrivieren van de Tomasa. Wanneer men vroeger aan een To Lage vroeg naar de uitgestrektheid van zijn landschap, rekende hij steeds het landschap Peladia er bij Van hun kant beweerden de To Onda'e, dat Peladia tot

hun land behoorde. . . Oorsprongkelijk woonden de Peladiaërs te zamen in hun dorp Peladia, dat met zijn dorps-tempel steeds beschouwd werd als het stamdorp, waarin men samenkwam tot het vieren van offerfeesten. In 1902 is dit dorp echter afgebrand door eene onvoorzichtigheid bij het kaalbranden van akkers. De lieden van Peladia, die zich sedert in verscheidene gehuchten hadden verspreid, zijn na de komst van het Gouvernement samengebracht in het dorp Pandjoka.»

To judge from this the To Peladia hardly can be considered as a special tribe, but they may have been a branch of the To Lage.

Literature has nothing to tell of the migrations of this little tribe, but if my presumption is right that the To Peladia as well as the To Rompoe are branches of the To Lage, all of them most likely emigrated to the district not as three different tribes but as one. Later, depending on the circumstances of the country, small portions of the tribe were isolated and finally formed tribes of their own.

To Palande.

Map 17.

«The To Palande is a tribe that, at the beginning of this century, chiefly occupied the mountain districts situated between the southern part of Lake Poso in the west and the Masewe Valley in the east. Although this tribe does not live in the districts drained by the Poso River I think it most proper to treat it in connection with the To Lage and their branches since Kruijt writes as follows of the To Palande:

»De To Palande zijn een jonge stam, eene uitzwerming van de To Lage, aan wie zij in taal en andere dingen nog duidelijk herinneren.»

An old legend quoted by Kruijt tells us how it happened that natives from Lage settled in Palande. According to this tale a chief of Langgeani, a village situated in the SE. part of the Walati Plain, asked the Lage chief of Tamoengkoe mBonti in the southern part of Lage not far from the present village of Pandjoka, to help him in a war between his own village and a village called Wawo n'Tolo in the NE. part of the Walati Plain. The Lage chief did so, the natives of Wawo n'Tolo were overpowered, and he got from the Langgeani chief a piece of land in acknowledgement of his help. Langgeani was said to have been so large and powerful a country in olden times that the 'To Langgeani could afford to cede a piece of land to the 'To Lage. As to the boundary of the land that was given to the 'To Lage Kruijt says:

»Als grenzen van dit gedeelte gaf zij op: de Masewe stroomopwaarts tot aan hare rechterzijrivier Bentonoe, deze stroomopwaarts tot aan den bergrug; nederdalende langs de Singkona. . . tot aan het Meer, vandaar de Kodina op tot Koro Bono, dan over het gebergte tot den oorsprong van de Pape,¹⁾ deze stroomopwaarts tot de Masewe.»

Some 'To Lage went southward to inspect the new country. When their chief had approved of the place that they had chosen, the village of Palande was founded. It became the chief village of the district, giving its name to the district as well as to the tribe that inhabited it.

When the Dutch became the masters of the eastern part of Central Celebes, the 'To Palande were ordered to leave their old chief village as well as all their villages that were situated in the mountains. They were brought together in the three villages of Singkona, Pape, and Toba in the Masewe Valley.

¹⁾ The Pape must be a very small stream since it is not given on the map belonging to the work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» by Adriani and Kruijt. Nor is it found on Kruijt's big map of Central Celebes, or on the »Schetskaart van een deel van Noord- en Midden-Celebes» (Batavia 1919).

In the foregoing we have seen that the To Lage migrated toward the sea in the north, to the Matakō River in the NE., and to Poeoe mBana in the SE. Here we finally find them migrating toward the south. Which way they took when going to Palande we do not know. Evidently the To Lage were a numerous tribe that wanted to enlarge their territory and for that reason migrated in various directions.

To Wingke mPoso.

Map 16.

East of the upper R. Poso and on the banks of the NE. corner of Lake Poso lives a tribe called the To Wingke mPoso. Kruijt translates the name by »de lieden van den oever der Posso», the people on the bank of the Poso.

Whether the natives living in this district still are called To Wingke mPoso I do not know. When I spent a week here in 1919 I never heard anybody using that name. The natives at least in the neighbourhood of Tentena were called To Rano which simply means the people from the Lake. Kruijt in his work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» on page 31 writes the following:

»De Toradja's van, het benedenland spreken wel van To Rano 'Meerbewoners', maar dit is geen stamnaam, daar tot die Meerbewoners verschillende stammen behooren.»

On page 121 of the same book we read, however, the following: ».... met de vereende krachten van To Rano, To Wingke mPosso, To Lage en To Pebato werden de Parigiërs verdreven.»

Here Kruijt has used the name of To Rano as if it were a name of a tribe just as To Lage and To Pebato etc. They are here even coordinated with the To Wingke mPoso, the tribe that is settled on Lake Poso.

How we are to understand this is of course difficult to say. Possibly part of the To Wingke mPoso living on the Lake, like some other tribes were pointed out as To Rano. But then the To Rano could not very well be coordinated with the To Lage, the To Wingke mPoso etc.

Kruijt has not so little to tell of the history and the settlements of the To Wingke mPoso, but we cannot derive from it any conclusions to be depended on as to the origin of this tribe and the direction of their migrations. Of the spread of the To Wingke mPoso he writes as follows:

»Beginnende bij het voormalige dorp Sapa, strekte hun gebied zich hoofdzakelijk uit langs den rechteroever der Posso-rivier tot aan Imboe toe. Alleen aan den Noordkant van het Meer hadden zij ook eenige dorpen aan den linker-oever der rivier. Aan het Meer zelve hadden zij Sapa, Pe-oera, Tando Bone ('zandkaap') en Towale. . . . In het Dongi-gebied¹⁾ lagen voor 1906 Langgadopi,²⁾ Posoenga, Mogoempo, Wawo Lembo en Kasawi Doeloengi.»

Besides Kruijt mentions the name of a great number of villages, situated along the eastern bank of the R. Poso, as well as two villages on the western bank, all belonging to this tribe. The villages on the right bank are the following: Tamoengkoe Dena, Kadjoë Mapeni, Pengoa, Panjebi, Kajóekoe, Woealoe, Kapoetia, Petiro Woera, Limba Ata, Noenoe, Mokoepa, and Paloewasi; those on the left bank are Posea ngKoaä and Mowoemboe.

Kruijt includes in the villages of the To Wingke mPoso Tanono, Tinoë, and Pantjawoe Wea, although he says that the inhabitants of these villages considered themselves as a special tribe called the To Tinoë. As a summary after having enumerated the names of all these villages, he says:

1) Acc. to Kruijt page 15, Vol. I of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» the plain north of Lake Poso that during the wet season is inundated is called Dongi.

2) On »Schetskaart van een deel van Midden-Celebes (Batavia 1919) there is a village of this name in the Walati Plain east of Lake Poso.

»Uit deze opsomming van dorpen kan men dadelijk de gevolgtrekking maken, dat de To Wingke mPoso een van de grootste stammen der Toradja's zijn. Als hun stamdprijzen deze menschen Mowoemboe aan, een kalkheuvel aan den linkeroever der Poso, op de hoogte van Batoe Nontjoe. Voor een ander deel zijn zij afkomstig van Tinoë, dat mede een zeer oude dorp moet zijn. Wij zullen beneden zien, dat de stam der To Pebato beweert van Tinoë afkomstig te zijn. Zeer waarschijnlijk zijn de To Wingke mPoso en de To Pebato nog jonge stammen.»

On page 119 we read the following: »Een groot gedeelte van de Toradja's noemen zich To Mowoemboe naar het voormalige dorp van dit naam; maar sedert hebben zich deze menschen in kleinere stammetjes verdeeld, die zich naar de plaats waar zij zich vestigden To Tinoë, To Rano en To Wingke mPoso noemden.»

Thus the To Wingke mPoso as well as the To Tinoë originally came from Mowoemboe. But how can part of the tribe called the To Wingke mPoso then be said to originate from Tinoë?

At any rate, if the To Wingke mPoso came from Mowoemboe on the western bank of the Poso, the tribe evidently has migrated toward the NE., the east, the SE., and the south.

At last I want to call the attention to the question of the origin of the To Pebato that is not clear. In the above mentioned quotation concerning the To Wingke mPoso, Kruijt observes that the To Pebato also pretend to originate from Tinoë, and in the chapter treating the To Pebato he writes the following: »Volgens het verhaal zijn de stamvaders der To Pebato afkomstig van Tinoë.» Here he does not mention any other alternative, but in a following chapter, when speaking of slavery, he says:

»Nu zijn er enkele stammen onder de Bare'e-sprekers, die geen erfslaven hebben en onder wie dus geen slavenstand is ontstaan. Dit zijn de To Pebato and the To Wingke

mPoso, wier gebied zich uitstrekt tot aan den Noord- en Oostkant van het Meer. Eigenlijk zijn deze twee stammen één, als gezamenlijk afstammende van het dorp Mowoemboe, zoodat zij zich nu en dan wel To Mowoemboe noemen.»

From these lines we get the impression that the To Pebato were descendants of the natives of Mowoemboe and not of Tinoë, the Mowoemboe colony, as stated by Kruijt on page 119 of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's».

However it be, Kruijt's account of the origin of the To Wingke mPoso is such that we cannot derive any conclusions at all from it.

To Longkea, To Wisa, To Boejoe.

Map 18.

On the eastern bank of Lake Poso, south of the To Wingke mPoso, there live, according to Kruijt, some hundred natives who, although few in number, were severed into three different tribes called To Longkea, To Wisa, and To Boejoe.

Literature has nothing to tell of the origin or the migrations of these tribes. Before the Dutch became the masters of the country the natives lived in a number of villages, the most important of which according to Kruijt were Lala mBatoë, Pantajo, Pombala, Wiore, and Kandela, all of them at present destroyed and the inhabitants removed to quite other places on the Lake.

On Kruijt's map belonging to the work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» only two of these villages are to be found, i. e. Lala mBatoë and Kandela. There is a village called Biore, presumably meant to be the same as Wiore. Beside these three there are given two other names: Boloela and Penggoli, possibly indicating the site of ancient villages.

To Lamoesa.

Map 18.

At the SE. corner of Lake Poso east of the Kodina River lives a Toradja tribe called To Lamoesa. Kruijt has not much to tell of their origin, their settlements, or their migrations. He says that they were named after their chief village that is said to have been situated on the left bank of a small stream called the Lamoesa, emptying into the Kodina. The village of Lamoesa however is said to have been abandoned very long ago. I suppose when Kruijt says long ago he means long before the Dutch exerted their authority over these natives at the beginning of our century. Their principal villages at that time were Pantjawoe Enoe and Tando ngKasa. Kruijt says the To Lamoesa are quite a small tribe, yet in olden times it was one of the more important ones. He writes the following of it:

»Deze stam telt niet vele leden, maar certijds was Lamoesa in de Toradjawereld van veel gewicht. Uit dit volkje namelijk koos de 'heer des lands', de Datoe van Loewoe, zich een plaatsvervanger, die op zijne beurt weer alle Toradja-stammen van het Meer en ten Noorden hiervan vertegenwoordigde bij den Datoe. Deze waardigheidsbekleeder droeg den titel van karadja.»

Very likely at the time when a To Lamoesa before the master in Loewoe represented all the Bare-e speaking Toradja, the tribe was bigger than at present.

Although Kruijt does not touch upon the question of the origin of the To Lamoesa or their migrations we may, however, be able to derive some conclusion by what he says about the most important villages of the tribe.

The oldest village, Lamoesa, was situated on the Lamoesa. Later Pantjawoe Enoe and Tando ngKasa became the most important villages of the tribe. If we study the map we shall find the oldest village in the south at the foot of the high mountains, Pantjawoe Enoe further to the

NE. a little higher up in the mountains, and Tando ngKasa still more toward the north high up in the mountains not far from the boundary of Palande. Possibly this indicates that the To Lamoesa have proceeded from the south toward the north and the NE.

Where the To Lamoesa originally came from is impossible to tell, but if they arrived in the same direction as they seem to have proceeded from Lamoesa, it would mean that they came from the south. If this was the case there could hardly have been any other way to follow than the Kodina Valley. Further to the south there are, however, no traces of any settlements of the To Lamoesa. The villages formerly situated on the left bank of the Kodina south of the present village of Majoa were villages founded by the To Poeoe mBoto. If the To Lamoesa once occupied the district on the upper Kodina, this must have been at quite a remote time, and it is not likely that they were expelled by the To Poeoe mBoto who no doubt appeared here comparatively late.

To Ondae.

Map 19.

All the Bare-e speaking tribes mentioned in the foregoing are settled in districts that are drained by the Poso and its tributaries. Ondae, however, does not all together belong to this area, occupying not only the country round the source of the R. Tomasa, a tributary of the Poso, but also the district round the R. Walati, one of the sources of the R. Laa.

Kruijt is of the opinion that the To Ondae as well as the To Lage must be considered as the two oldest of the Bare-e speaking tribes or the so called Poso Toradja. It

seems not impossible that the To Ondae even several hundred years ago were a tribe of great importance in the eastern part of Central Celebes, since Valentijn in his work »Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien» in 1724 speaks of a people that may have been the To Ondae. He writes as follows: »Agter dit Posso, wat land-waart in leggen niet alleen de gemelde berg- en yser-dorpen; maar ook Tonappo, Ontondano, en meer andere, wel tot in dertig toe, die, als vrije volkeren, alle onder hun eigen dorp-hoofden staan. . . »

Provided that Valentijn with »Tonappo» and »Ontondano» means the To Napoe en the To Ondae, these two tribes then already at the end of the 17th century or latest at the beginning of the 18th should have appeared as more important than the other tribes south of Poso.

That Tonappo is the same as To Napoe can hardly be doubted but the meaning of Ontondano does not seem to be quite as clear.

In a note in his article »De berglandschappen Napoe en Behoa» Kruijt evidently is of the opinion that Ontondano is the same as To Ondae, since he puts the latter name in a parenthesis as an explication of the former. In »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» he, however, on page 119 Vol. I says that the To Ondae were named after the village of Wawo Ondae. He explains the meaning of this name on page 35 of the same book saying: »Van hier uit stichtte een gedeelte het dorp Wawo Onda'e, ('Onda'e—een boom—berg').»

But if we accept this explanation, how can the name then at the same time be derived from an old name Ontondano? Ontondano can hardly come from a word Ondae, meaning *tree*, because in Ontondano there is beside the *To* meaning man, an old word *dano* or *rano* meaning lake.

Although the people are named To Ondae the village of Wawo Ondae does not seem to be the oldest village of the tribe. Kruijt writes on page 35 of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's:

»Toen onze voorouders van de andere scheidden te Pamona, zoo vertellen de To Onda'e, stichtten zij een dorp te Bomba. Dit is ons oudste dorp. Van hier uit stichtte een gedeelte het dorp Wawo Onda'e ('onda'e—een boom—berg'), andere Morengkoe, en weer anderen Tobo ri Tongo bij het tegenwoordige Tantjo'a.»

It is strange that the tribe, nowadays called To Ondae, should not have been named after Bomba, the oldest village of the tribe, but after a colony founded by natives from the old Bomba. Of course it may be that the village of Wawo Ondae gradually developed to a place of such importance that it surpassed all the other Bomba colonies and even this village itself. Neither Kruijt nor anybody else has, however, pointed out Wawo Ondae as so prosperous a village that it is likely to have given its name to the whole tribe because of that.

At first sight Ontondano seems just as incomprehensible if it is meant to be the same as To Ondae, because the To Ondae do not live at any lake, if we leave out of consideration the very small lake called Todjo that is found in the Walati Plain. It is unlikely that the tribe was named after this small lake that is more like a swamp.

But Ontondano is an old name, at least two hundred years, and perhaps much older still. Ontondano thus cannot refer to the country as it appears in our days but must bear on the state of it two or three hundred years ago or still earlier.

At that time the Walati Plain certainly did not look like it does nowadays with a small lake, surrounded by extensive swamps, the last remainders of an ancient lake. But the question is how fast the filling up of a lake and the closing up of the shores by water plants take place in a country like this. When the filling up of the lake had come so far that there was only a comparatively shallow body of water left, the final filling up may have proceeded rather quickly. It is at this place favoured by a great number of rivers flow-

ing into the plain as well as by heavy rains, carrying tremendous quantities of mud from the mountains to the lower ground.

Under these circumstances it is not unlikely that a couple of hundred years ago there was a large but shallow lake where at present we have the Walati Plain. A tribe living on this lake on good reasons could be called To Rano or To nDano, the people on the lake.

My presumption that the To Ondae lived at this hypothetical lake two or three hundred years ago is, however, opposed to Kruijt's idea of the origin and the migrations of this tribe. In the following I am going to examine the reasons on which he has founded his conclusions, and show that many a time they are rather weak and contradictory.

My opinion is that we must exclude all thoughts of the To Ondae having once lived on Lake Poso, since we cannot trace any tribe of that name on the Lake. Kruijt thinks that the To Ondae like the rest of the Bare-e Toradja came from the mythological village of Pamona that was supposed to have been situated at the northern corner of Lake Poso.

The whole story of Pamona, however, may no doubt be banished to the world of fairy tales as long as it has not been confirmed by an archæological research of the place in question. Of the meaning of the word Pamona Kruijt writes the following: »P a m o n a, v a n P o n a 'de oorsprong' (po, poe, pong, poeng, poe'oe) vergl. Sang. mona, 'voorsteven', en kalemona 'eerste'.»

This shows, I think, that Pamona does not allude to a special village but only to the fact that all the Bare-e Toradja, or at least most of them, have the same origin.

It is quite natural that the natives should fix their origin to a certain village. That this village was situated just at Lake Poso is not strange. This great lake could not have failed to influence the fancy of the natives. Of this the numerous legends connected with the Lake bear witness.

At the place where the legendary village of Pamona was situated there are three big stones, according to tradition raised when the Bare-e 'Toradja took leave of their old village before spreading in various directions. This tale seems to me so naive that it can only appeal to the fancy of a native.

When Kruijt, speaking with the natives, calls their attention to the fact that the number of the stones does not correspond to that of the Poso tribes, they answer that there were formerly seven stones, one stone for each tribe. But then they unfortunately count the 'To Napoe among the Poso or Bare-e 'Toradja which no doubt is a mistake, because the 'To Napoe do not consider themselves as Bare-e 'Toradja, nor do the Bare-e 'Toradja consider them to be so.

Other natives said there had only been five stones at Pamona, but those stones had almost nothing to do with the origin of the Bare-e 'Toradja, since the natives said that they represented the 'To Loewoe, the 'To Bada, the 'To Mori, the 'To Napoe, and the 'To Ondae. Of all these only the 'To Ondae are Bare-e 'Toradja.

Of the disappearing of so many of these remarkable stones the natives told Kruijt the following. In times of war some of the tribes possessing such a stone had brought it off in order to prevent the enemy from practising magical arts by means of the stone.

After all nothing is known of the origin of the three stones north of Lake Poso. Perhaps they belong to a period previous to that of the 'Toradja in Central Celebes. They are not altogether without a match in this part of the Island. Similar stones are found at other places. Grubauer for instance represents such stones from the Rantepaoe Valley. These stones very much resemble what we in Scandinavia call a »domarering», a judge's ring, and no doubt they once had another meaning than the one given to them by the legend, but which we do not yet know. Further researches will perhaps reveal their secret to us.

Thus, the whole story of Pamona I think we can leave out of consideration for the present when we want to form an opinion of the origin and the spread of the To Ondae.

As we already know Bomba, according to Kruijt, was said to be the oldest village of the To Ondae, and by natives from Bomba the villages of Wawo Ondae, Morengkoe, and Toboe ri Tongo were founded. When this took place we do not know, but it seems to have been very long ago. This migration went from the south to the north, since Bomba was situated furthest to the south, Morengkoe two or three kilometers NW. of Bomba, and the other two villages about seven or eight kilometers to the NE., not far from the Tomasa.

The district ruled by the To Ondae extended, however, much further to the north, because still further down the R. Tomasa far beyond the place where Wawo Ondae was situated, the To Ondae came into possession of the district called Tana Inoli. As mentioned before the To Ondae got this district as a present from the To Kadomboekoe when they had helped them to murder a certain person. Presumably, when taking possession of Tana Inoli, the To Ondae followed the Tomasa Valley. They do not seem to have proceeded north of Tana Inoli.

If we should draw any conclusions from this it would be that the tribe moved from the south to the north.

Kruijt is of the opinion that the To Ondae spread from the area of the Poso to that of the Laa, writing: «Van uit het Posso-stroomgebied breidde de stam (To Onda'e) zich uit tot in het gebied van de Laa.» This migration toward the south and the SE. is according to Kruijt, of rather late date, but everything indicates that the To Ondae have lived in the Valati Plain from time out of mind. At any rate it is almost impossible to get an idea of how the To Ondae spread by what Kruijt has to tell us.

According to him there is a tale that once two Ondae men living near Wawo Ondae visited this village. They

were insulted by the inhabitants and therefore made up their mind to take revenge upon the natives of Wawo Ondae. When they could not get anybody to help them they left the district and founded new villages. Kruijt writes the following of the two men who were insulted at Wawo Ondae:

»Zij spraken af, dat ieder hunner hulp zou gaan vragen om hun wraak te koelen, Ta Doranggi bij de To Napoe en Ta nTjaino bij de Loewoeërs. Geen van beiden bereikte zijn doel, want Ta nTjaino stichtte het dorp Wanoea mBawoe ('varkenshol'), aan den bovenloop der Walati — *en op deze wijze kwamen de To Onda'e in het stroomgebied van de Laa¹⁾* — en Ta Doranggi bouwde een huis op eene plaats, waar veel roda-boomen. . . stonden; . . . Langzamerhand ontstond bij zijn huis een dorp, het latere Wawo nDoda ('dadap-hoogte').»

Later Ta Doranggi succeeded by means of a deception to provoke the To Loewoe against the inhabitants of Wawo Ondae, resulting in the capture of the village, the natives of which were killed.

On Kruijt's map belonging to »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» we find Wawo nDoda²⁾ between the Poso and the Tomasa SE. of Tinoe. On the map there is a village called Banoea Mbawoe which I suppose is meant to be the same as Wanoea mBawoe. Of the fate of Wawo nDoda Kruijt says only the following: »Dit heet het hoogland van Wawo nDoda ('dadap-hoogte') naar een dorp, dat er op lag en dat na de komst van het Gouvernement verlaten is geworden.»

It seems, however, not to be quite sure that the inhabitants of Wawo nDoda should be considered as To Ondae,

¹⁾ Printed in italics by the writer of this book.

²⁾ There is on "Schetskaart" as well as on Kruijt's map a village of this {name, marked {as an abandoned village somewhat east of one of the tributaries of the Kolaka River, a southern tributary of the Laa.

because more than once in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Kruijt mentions them as a special tribe. On page 119, Vol I he writes the following: »Verder heten de To Wawo nDoda en de To Bantjea wederom naar de dorpen hunner stamouders:» and on page 343, Vol. II of the same work, speaking of places where the natives found iron, among other districts he mentions »de landschappen van Onda'e. . . Wawo nDoda en Palande.»

From all these quotations we get the impression that the district of Wawo nDoda was a special district and that the To Wawo nDoda formed a tribe of their own. The same impression we get when we read the following:

»Op zekeren tijd nu kwam weer een Loewoe'sch gezantschap aan den Zuidkant van het Meer; ook de lieden van Wawo nDoda en Wawo Onda'e kregen de boodschap, dat zij hunne opwachting moesten gaan maken bij den heer des lands.»

If the To Wawo nDoda and the To Wawo Onda'e had been one and the same tribe, it is strange that they should both of them have to send a delegate to the messenger from Loewoe. Certainly it was not customary with the other tribes such as the To Lage, the To Wingke mPoso etc., to send a delegate from each village of the tribe but they sent one delegate for the whole district.

Of the fate of Wanoea mBawoe Kruijt has hardly anything to tell us. As I already pointed out before, this village very likely is the same that on Kruijt's map is called Banoea Mbawoe. But if this suggestion of mine is correct then Kruijt is wrong when on page 53 he states the following about this village:

»Het Noordelijk en het middengedeelte van de Walativilakte worden bewoond door To Onda'e. Toen wij het stroomgebied van de Posso bespraken, hebben wij. . . medegedeeld, dat een Onda'eër, die te Wawo Onda'e beleedigd was, naar het zuiden trok en een dorp stichtte te Wanoea mBawoe. . . *Dit dorp lag op het Oostelijk gebergte*¹⁾, waar de

¹⁾ Printed in italics by the writer of this book.

boschjes bamboe nog tal van plaatsen aanwijzen, op welke de To Onda'e in dit gedeelte van het land hunne nederzettingen hebben gehad.»

But very likely we have here only to do with a slip of the pen, because in the mountain chain east of the Walati Plain there is on the map not a single name to be found that could be interpreted as Wanoea mBawoe, but at the upper course of the R. Walati there is, as mentioned before, a name Banoea Mbawoe. Round this village Kruijt has marked a number of ancient villages which may have been inhabited by To Ondae.

By natives from Wanoea mBawoe the village of Wawo n'Tolo must have been founded. Of this Kruijt writes immediately after the above quoted lines the following:

»Het dorp, dat de nakomelingen van Ta n'Tjaino (zoo heette de uitgeweken To Onda'e) stichtten, was Wawo n'Tolo op het Oostelijk gebergte. Dit dorp schijnt in de geschiedenis der To Onda'e een voorname rol te hebben gespeeld, het wordt althans in tal van overleveringen genoemd.»

Moreover Kruijt tells us that the inhabitants of Wawo n'Tolo came in close contact with a tribe called the To Langgeani, the chief village of whom was Langgeani, situated at the other end of the Walati Plain SSW. of Wawo n'Tolo.

The relations between the two tribes seem at first to have been friendly as a rule but became later more or less hostile. Once the natives of Langgeani called in a famous priestess from Wawo n'Tolo for the performance of a certain religious ceremony. She came, but somehow she was insulted by the Langgeani chief who to appease her and the To Wawo n'Tolo had to give a piece of land to the To Wawo n'Tolo.

On another occasion the To Wawo n'Tolo made a woman from Langgeani their chief. The latter village was governed by two women, Indo i Laoë and Indo i Losi, in such an excellent manner that a time of great prosperity began for the country.

The natives of Wawo nTolo persuaded Indo i Losi to become the governess of Wawo nTolo, and this village then became so flourishing that the natives of the villages in the neighbourhood were envious and drove Indo i Losi from Wawo nTolo. She then returned to Langgeani making up her mind to revenge herself on the To Wawo nTolo who had not prevented the enemy from driving her out of Wawo nTolo. The end was that Wawo nTolo was laid waste. This must have happened long ago since Kruijt says: »Wawo nTolo is al sedert menschengeheugnis niet meer bewoond.»

Just SE. of Wawo nTolo there were in olden times a number of villages that perhaps were inhabited by the To Ondae. Kruijt only says the following of them:

»Ook op het gebergte, dat de Walativlakte aan den Oostkant begrenst ziet men behalve Wawo nTolo nog andere boschjes, die herinneren aan het feit dat daar dorpen hebben gelegen, . . . Ein eindweegs verder op den weg naar Pada komt men voorbij twee plaatsen waar eertijds de dorpen Wojo Pajoe en Penggoli hebben gelegen.»

Nothing seems to be known of the natives that founded these villages or of their age. The same is the case with the village of Tando mBeaga, perhaps the most important of all Ondae villages. Of this village Kruijt writes the following:

»Op het gebergte aan den Oostkant van de Walativlakte hebben vroeger nog verscheidene dorpen der To Onda'e gelegen. Wij noemen hiervan alleen Tando mBeaga op het uiteinde van den uitlooper, die de Toka van de Saloe Taa scheidt. Ofschoon de To Onda'e oorspronkelijk in het stroomgebied der Posp thuis behoorden, moeten de naar het Zuiden verhuisde To Onda'e al spoedig groot overwicht hebben gekregen over hunne Noordelijker wonende stamgenoten. Onda'e moet in den zeer ouden tijd reeds een eigen landschapshoofd hebben gehad; de andere To-radjastammen hadden er geen. Toen Onda'e onder de heerschappij van Loewoe kwam, werd dit algemeene hoofd ge-

handhaafd onder den titel van karadja of tongko... Deze karadja woonde in Tando mBeaga, en hierdoor was dit dorp het voornaamste van alle Onda'e-nederzettingen in den tijd voordat het Gouvernement hier kwam. Alle andere Onda'e-dorpen konden worden gerekend de onderhoorigen te zijn van Tando mBeaga. Deze onderhoorigheid bleek onder meer hieruit, dat zij moesten medehelpen aan het bouwen van den dorpstempel te Tando mBeaga; vandaar dat deze tempel de grootste en fraaiste was uit het geheele land.»

In 1909 the Dutch Government had this temple pulled down, and nowadays only some high old coco-nut palms indicate the site of the once so flourishing village of Tando mBeaga.

Kruijt is, as mentioned before, of the opinion that the To Ondae obviously came from the districts of the R. Poso and spread over the districts on the R. Laa, and we get the impression when he speaks of Tando mBeaga that this village was founded by some To Ondae who had emigrated from their original country.

Unfortunately Kruijt does not give us a single argument on which can be founded such a theory as this, and in the legends of the To Ondae that he quotes there are no statements at all touching upon the foundation of Tando mBeaga. It seems, however, to be a very old village. Having been so great and important a village it is rather strange that Kruijt has no legends to tell of it.

In 1919 when I stayed for some days at Taripa, a village situated near the old Tando mBeaga, it was impossible in that short time to find out anything of the history of Tando mBeaga. My questions were met with distrust, the natives probably being afraid that I wanted to know whether the old village was considered a sacred place to them.

If we try to form an opinion of the settlements of the To Ondae and the direction of their migrations by means

of Kruijt's statements, we find it impossible to solve the problem. Everything that Kruijt tells of happened so very long ago, which highly reduces the thrustworthiness of these accounts, especially as there are no other events by which the time of a certain event could be fixed.

I only take an example. Wawo nTolo has not existed within the memory of man. As it was a village of great importance it had no doubt existed for several generations. But, according to a legend, this village was a colony of Wanoea mBawoe, a village that of course first developed to a place of some importance before the colony of Wawo nTolo was founded. Wanoea mBawoe was founded much later than Wawoe Ondae which in its turn was a colony of Bomba.

It is remarkable that villages such as Wawo nTolo, being of comparatively late date, had disappeared long ago while the oldest of all Ondae villages, Bomba, was the latest to be destroyed. It happened at the end of the nineteenth century in a war between the 'To Ondae and the 'To Napoe that lasted ten years. In this war Morengkoe, the Bomba colony, also was destroyed as well as many other villages. The 'to Bomba then settled at Laro Bomba and later at Tompira.

If Kruijt's statement of the age of the villages is correct it is to be regretted that such an old village as Bomba has not been spared. It must have existed for centuries and would have been of the greatest interest to anybody wanting to make researches in these districts.

But it may be that the legends quoted by Kruijt are mere tales that cannot be used as historical documents.

The only thing that seems to be sure is that the 'To Ondae is an ancient tribe of the Poso 'Toradja that already at an early epoch became of greater importance than most other tribes and that they enlarged their territory in various directions.

It is likely that the 'To Ondae from olden times have lived at the upper course of the R. Tomasa and in the

upper and central part of the Walati Plain. But in which direction their migrations have gone we do not know. It is perhaps a problem that never can be solved as all genuine ancient Ondae villages have been levelled with the ground. Possibly archæological researches at the place where those old villages once were situated might throw a light upon the migrations of the To Ondae.

To Langgeani. To Tawoealongi.

Map 19.

As mentioned before the To Lage and the To Ondae came in contact with a tribe called the To Langgeani who were the masters of vast districts round the Walati and Masewe Valleys. If they are to be considered as Poso Toradja or not is not quite clear from what Adriani and Kruijt write of them in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's», but as Kruijt treats this tribe immediately after the To Ondae it is likely that the To Langgeani should be considered as a branch of the Poso Toradja, especially as Kruijt does not point out any difference of importance between them and their neighbours in the NW.

Kruijt has not much to tell about the To Langgeani. He writes the following:

»Wanneer men van uit het Noorden den blik laat waren over de Walati vlakke, ziet men ver naar het Zuiden op het uiteinde van den uitlooper, die de rivieren Walati en Masewe van elkaar scheidt een boschje, waar eertijds het dorp Langgeani lag. De To Langgeani moeten een zeer oude en machtige stam zijn geweest. Van waar zij zijn gekomen, weet men niet te zeggen, maar alle To Onda'e beweren, dat zij (de To Langgeani) reeds in die streek woon-

den, voor dat Ta nTjaino Wanoea mBawoe kwam stichten. Het grootste deel van de Walati-vlakte behoorde dan ook aan de To Langgeani.»

Here follow the tales that we already know about the relation between the To Langgeani and the To Wawo nTolo and the founding of Palande.

From Kruijt's brief remarks on the To Langgeani it is evident that this tribe in olden times was a powerful people, possessing a comparatively vast district, and that the intercourse between the To Langgeani and their neighbours in the north was rather lively, being mostly friendly.

The period of great power of the To Langgeani seems to have ended long ago, their chief village being also long ago effaced. There are no tales touching upon the declination of this tribe. Whether there is anything left of it at present is not stated in the work of Kruijt and Adriani. The present villages in the Masewe and Walati Plains are inhabited by other tribes: Masewe, Singkona, Pape, and Toba by the To Palande, Polega Njara, Taripa, Langga Dopi, and Tompira by the To Ondae.

At the SE. corner of the Walati Plain there are two villages, Lee and Tana Soempoe, but Kruijt knows very little about the origin of the inhabitants of these villages. They are, however, Bare-e speakers just as the To Langgeani, their neighbours in the north and the NW. I shall below quote Kruijt's statements of the inhabitants of these two villages. He writes:

»'En Westen (must be east) van Palande liggen nog drie dorpen door Bare'e-sprekers bewoond: Tompira, Tando Malolo¹⁾ ('scherpe top') en Tana Soempoe ('ingedrukt land'); laatste aan den rechteroever van de Kadata. Te Tompira wonen de menschen van Laro Bomba ('Marantha-moe-ras'); zooals wij boven reeds hebben medegedeeld, zijn deze lieden To Onda'e, die uit vrees voor hun toenmaligen vij-

¹⁾ Tando Malolo was an old village situated close to the present village of Lee.

and, de To Napoe, hun dorp Bomba in het Posso-gebied hebben verlaten en zich in Laro Bomba zijn gaan vestigen. De lieden van Tando Malolo en Tana Soempoe zijn afkomstig van een oud dorp Tawoealongi, dat niet ver van pasgenoemd dorp af lag. Waar deze menschen weer vandaan kwamen, weet men evenmin te zeggen, als men nog den oorsprong van To Langgeani kan mededeelen.»

If we had known the history of the To Langgeani and the To Tawoealongi this would no doubt have helped to give us an idea of the migrations of the Poso Toradja.

It is strange that there should have been two Bare-speaking tribes living in the Walati Plain, at least one of which formerly was of great importance, that were not said to originate from the legendary village of Pamona. Thus it seems as if neither the To Langgeani, nor the To Tawoealongi belonged to the Poso Toradja but formed a special group of Toradja. In favour of this theory we have the statement of the To Ondae that the To Langgeani occupied the bigger part of the Walati Plain when they themselves settled there.

But then, if these two tribes are not related to one another, how can they possibly speak the same language and have the same culture? Have the language and the culture of one of the tribes been embraced by the other? There is, however, nothing indicating that the To Ondae should have forced their language and their culture upon the To Langgeani, nor is there anything that makes it likely that the latter forced the To Ondae to accept their language and culture.

Being reduced to mere conjecture as to the migrations of these tribes, I think it most likely that the ancestors of the To Langgeani, the To Tawoealongi, and the To Ondae as well as in all probability of all Poso Toradja, originally came along the Kadata Valley, gaining by this valley the Walati Plain, at that time still a big but shallow lake.

The immigrants spread over the slopes of the mountain chains, surrounding the Walati Plain. The country no doubt was favourable to colonisation. There were big forests rich in game, and there was plenty of fish in the lake. The slopes of the mountains were apt to be cleared with fire and cultivated, the only kind of agriculture known by the natives at that time. That this method has been practiced on a large scale all round the Walati Plain and in the tracts NW. of the Plain in the neighbourhood of the Poso districts is evident, the forests being here almost everywhere cut down.

The population living round this lake, when increasing, looked out for new land and gradually proceeded toward the NW. The inhabitants living in the southern part and in the center of the Walati Plain formed a dominion, the chief village of which was Langgeani, whereas the natives further to the north went on toward the NW. until they found a district round the sources of the Walati and the Tomasa where they could favourably settle and where the population could increase. The branch that occupied the southern part of this district, i. e. the NW. corner of the Walati Plain toward the source of the R. Tomasa were the ancestors of the To Ondae.

In this country favoured by nature, the To Ondae grew into a powerful tribe that wanted to enlarge their territory. In the south reigned the To Langgeani

As to the To Palande they are, as mentioned before, said to be a comparatively young branch of the To Lage. But as the district of the To Palande originally belonged to the To Langgeani, it is not unlikely that Palande, or at least part of it, originally was occupied by the To Langgeani in which case the To Palande probably are immigrating To Lage mixed with the original inhabitants of the district, the To Langgeani.

But as I have said before, all this is a mere theory. What we *actually* know about the settlement of the nati-

ves in the Walati and the Masewe Valleys is exceedingly scant. Only a close study of the geology, the archæology and the ethnography of the country might reveal the secrets of the origin and the migrations of the Bare-e speaking Toradja.

To Pakambia.

Map 19.

Almost parallel to the Walati Valley, only further to the east, we find the central and lower part of the Jaentoe Valley, running from the NW. to the SE. This valley that is drained by the R. Jaentoe broadens toward the east. In the neighbourhood of Kamba the Valley has grown into a large plain, the Jaentoe Plain, in the east continued by the Laa Plain.

Especially in the central part of the Jaentoe Valley there lives a Bare-e speaking tribe called the To Pakambia. Of the origin of this tribe there are no statements to be found in literature. Kruijt cites some legends from Pakambia but they do not give us any information as to the origin of this tribe. The only statement that may indicate a proceeding from the NW. toward the SE. is the following. Kruijt writes:

»Het standorp Pakambia lag aan den rechteroever der Jaentoe, eene plek nog kenbaar aan enkele boschjes bamboe, die eertijds deel hebben uitgemaakt van de omheining dier plaats. Een tien minuten loopens van deze plek naar het Noorden bevindt zich een boschje, dat eveneens Pakambia heet. In dit boschje zetten de menschen uit deze streek hunne dooden bij, na afloop van het groote doodenfeest.»

As to the villages of the To Pakambia Kruijt says:

»Eenige voorname plaatsen der To Pakambia waren eertijds Boejoe Mapipi ('platte berg'), Bentji ('gemsbuffel'), Mapoele ('in een wrong gedraaid', van het haar bijvoorbeeld), Petiro Todjoe ('Todjoe-zicht'), Palawanga ('afgesproken ontmoetingsplaats'). Vooral Boejoe Mapipi moet een zeer oud dorp zijn, waaraan de Pakambiaërs zeer gehecht zijn, zoodat zij niettegenstaande de herhaalde bevelen het dorp nog steeds niet hebben ontruimd.»

To judge from this it seems as if the earliest settlements of the To Pakambia have been in the district round the ancient village of Pakambia. On Kruijt's map we find several villages in the neighbourhood. On the eastern bank of the R. Jaentoe, not far from the River, there was Boejoe Mapipi, very likely a younger village than Pakambia. Boejoe Mapipi continued to be the chief village of the To Pakambia until the beginning of the twentieth century when this part of Celebes submitted to the Dutch.

Not far from Boejoe Mapipi there were some other villages belonging to the To Pakambia. Further to the SE. we find the villages of Bentji and Palawanga, but the further we proceed toward the SE., the greater is the distance between the villages. Thus we get the impression that the To Pakambia at first lived west of the R. Jaentoe round the source of its tributary the Tempe. Later they probably proceeded straight southward as well as toward the east, crossing the River. From the eastern bank of the River they finally went on toward the SE.

To Pada.
To Watoe To Kalae To Tananda
Map 20.

As a direct continuation of the Jaentoe Plain the Laa Plain spreads from the junction of the Jaentoe with the Laa in the west to the Tometindo mountains in the east. In this plain there live Bare-e speaking tribes the most important of which no doubt are the To Pada in the western half. About the origin of the To Pada nothing seems to be known. Kruijt writes in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» only the following:

»Ongeveer midden in de vlakte ziet men twee heuveltoppen, waar vroeger dorpen hebben gelegen. De Laa stroomt er tusschen door. De heuvel aan den rechteroever is Wawo Bao, een van de oudste dorpen, zoo niet het oudste der To Pada. Ovigens zijn de oude nederzettingen der bewoners van dit land nog duidelijk te herkennen aan de boschjes, die zich hier en daar uit de vlakte verheffen.»

The chief village of Pada, Perere, seems, however, to have been situated further to the west, near the junction of the Jaentoe with the Laa. About this village Adriani and Kruijt in 1899 in an article called »Van Posso naar Mori» write the following:

»Perere is het voornaamste dorp der To Pada; het bezit ook de eenige lobo van den geheelen stam, . . . Verder heeft het dorp een drietal groote woningen.»

This may indicate that the To Pada proceeded from the west to the east, their probably oldest village and their chief village both being situated more to the west, whereas there are only small villages of less importance in the east.

In the Laa Plain there formerly lived some other Bare-e speaking tribes of no consequence such as the To Watoe, the To Kalae, and the To Tananda. Where these came from Kruijt does not tell. Presumably they are to be considered as small branches of the To Pada. That they were of

no importance is evident from the following lines. Kruijt writes:

»De To Watoe, To Kalae en To Tananda zijn zoo gering in zielental, dat hunne namen elders op Midden-Celebes niet bekend zijn.»

It is not likely that these tribes: the To Pada, the To Watoe, the To Kalae, and the To Tananda gained the Plain by following the valley of the Jaentoe, because between the proper Pakambia and Pada there are in the mountain chains bordering the Jaentoe Valley in the NE. very few signs of this region being formerly densely populated.

But if we turn from the Pada Plain to the SW. or, in other words, if we follow the hills or the undulating ground SW. of the Pada Plain on the right bank of the Laa, we shall find a district that has apparently in former times been cultivated and more densely populated than nowadays. The country is altogether woodless from the present village of Tomata in the SW. corner of the Pada Plain as far as to the place where the village of Tawoealongi formerly was situated. The natives have cleared the ground with fire, and in consequence the forest finally has been rooted out.

It is not only the rooting out of the forests that indicates the settlements in olden times, the natives are able to point out several places where old villages are said to have been situated. When I visited the district of Tomaṭa and Pakoe in 1919, my native guide showed several such places to me and even told me a legend about one of them that altogether disappeared by a catastrophe. It sank into the ground that was turned into a swamp.

It seems most likely that the above mentioned Bare-e speaking tribes reached the Pada Plain coming over this district. They may have followed the Walati Valley, but to me it seems more likely that they came from the south, following the eastern slopes of the Kadata Valley to the place where the old village of Tawoealongi was situated.

At what time this presumed migration took place is of course impossible to say. It is not inconceivable that all these tribes only are swarms of To Langgeani. During my short visit to these districts in 1919 it seemed to me to judge from the external appearance of the natives of the Pada Plain as if they were related to the To Ondae.

To Toraoe.

Map 21.

Beside the Bare-e speaking tribes already mentioned there are two more tribes, the To Toraoe and the To Bae. They live in the district between Poso and the NE. peninsula of Celebes.

According to Kruijt the To Toraoe occupy the area between the R. Bombalo and the R. Oëe Koeli, but on his map the name of Toraoe is placed much more toward the west, right on the top of the R. Bombalo, or as Kruijt calls it the R. Matakō. This tribe is said to have got its name from a river called the Toraoe, emptying into the sea near Cape Lemo. There is, however, no river of that name given on Kruijt's map.

Whatever may be the real distribution of the To Toraoe, Kruijt has some statements concerning this people, indicating the direction in which they have migrated. He writes the following:

»Ertijds moet dit een vrij groote stam zijn geweest, die in tal van dorpen tegen de hellingen der bergen aan woonde. Hun voornaamste vestiging hadden zij aan de Mowombavivier; het hoofd daarvan werd min of meer beschouwd als de vader van alle To Tora'oe. In den tijd toen wij ons te Posso vestigden (1892), was deze stam reeds sterk achteruitgegaan. Een van de redenen van dien achteruitgang moet

worden gezocht in het onophoudelijk uitzwermen van de menschen naar de Togianeilanden en naar Parigi. In laatstgenoemd land hadden de verhuisde To Tora'oe een dorp, Towinotoe gesticht. Men zwermde uit om de voortdurende onrust in eigen land te ontloopen.»

Thus the To Tora'oe after having for a long time been exposed to the hostilities of some tribes in the south, finally emigrated to the Togian Islands in the NE. and to Parigi in the NW.

If the direction of the migration in later times is a continuation of their earlier migrations this would mean that the tribe formerly lived further up the country, i. e. more toward the south in the mountain districts, forming the northern part of the Pompangeo mountains. The circumstances here seem to be in favour of such a presumption, to judge from what Kruijt writes of these tracts:

»Talrijke lichtgroen gekleurde plekken op het midden der hellingen bewijzen, dat daar het oerbosch heeft plaats gemaakt voor lichter hout, tengevolge van het ontginnen voor rijstvelden. Hieraan kan men reeds zien, dat deze streek vroeger goed bevolkt moet zijn geweest.»

Of course it may be that some other people than the To Tora'oe have cultivated these hills, but there is no special reason for such a presumption. It is more likely that the ancestors of the To Tora'oe formerly lived more toward the south. They were forced by other tribes to look out for new ground further and further to the north until they reached the sea. When the pressure still continued they finally altogether left Central Celebes.

To Baoe.

Map 21.

East of the To Toraoe we find at the village of Oeë Koeli the wreck of a tribe called the To Baoe, formerly no doubt a tribe of rather great importance. Of this people and its migrations Kruijt has a good deal to tell. As early as in their account of their journey from Poso to Mori Adriani and Kruijt tell us of the To Baoe.

In the great work »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Kruijt has summed up what is known about the To Baoe. He writes as follows:

»Wanneer men zich vroeger van Oeë Koeli naar de golf van Mori begaf, kwam men na een goed uur klimmens aan een klein dorp, Kamoedo. In dit dorpje en in nog een paar gehuchten in den omtrek vond men het overschot van den eertijds zeer machtigen stam der To Baoe. In den ouden tijd woonden zij nog verder het binnenland in. Men vindt daar uitgestrekte alang²-velden, die er op wijzen, dat menschen hier eertijds roofofbouw hebben gedreven. Daar vindt men ook nog een heuvel, waarop waarschijnlijk de hoofdvesting dezer To Baoe heeft gelegen. Bij de Toradja's heet deze hoogte nog Lipoe mPoeë, 'het dorp van den heer'. Met zekeren eerbied, gaat men hier voorbij. De To Baoe, die zich zoo genoemd hebben naar een gelijknamig riviértje, dat daar stroomt, moeten uit de erve hunner vaderen zijn verdreven door een leger van Ternatanen, dat het hoofd heeft gestooten voor Wawo Onda'e.

De kleine nederzettingen van de overgebleven To Baoe zijn nu ook verdwenen, en de menschen bewonen thans eene wijk in het dorp Oeë Koeli.»

Thus the To Baoe originally lived in a district that is drained by the Laa, the R. Baoe being a tributary of the Laa, emptying into this river just before it leaves the Pada Plain. For some reason or other the To Baoe later proceeded toward the north and the NE. Here the people seem to

have increased in number and power, and they must have ruled a large territory, since Kruijt says the following:

»Eerstgenoemde (To Bae) die vroeger een groot deel van den hals van het Oostelijk schiereiland (tusschen Oeë Koeli en de Golf van Tomini¹⁾) moeten hebben bewoond, zijn in den ouden tijd door de Ternatanen uitgeroeid.»

At what time the To Bae met their fate in the shape of the Ternatans is difficult to say going by the accounts of Kruijt. He says, however, that probably in the middle of the 18th century the Toradja tribes living in the NE. corner of Central Celebes and those occupying the adjacent districts of the NE. peninsula elected a chieftain in common. One of the tribes that entered into the alliance were the To Bae, very likely feeling the want of allies after the assault of the Ternatans. This then most likely took place sometime during the earlier part of the 18th century.

The To Bae, however, never seem to have recovered from this blow. When Adriani and Kruijt in 1899 visited them, there were only a few quite small villages. In »Van Poso naar Mori» they write in 1900 of this visit the following:

»Kamoedo is een gehucht van 3 huizen, en behoort tot den kleinen stam Tobae, een van de Bare'e-sprekende stammen, aan den vorst van Todjo onderworpen. Hunne voornaamste vestiging heet Wojo watoe, ten Westen van Kamoe-do; dit dorp bestaat uit één groot huis en een lobo. Verder hebben zij nog eene vestiging, Boejoempalai geheten, mede bestaande uit één groot woonhuis.»

We thus get an idea of the later migrations of the To Bae, but we are left in the dark as to their original dwelling place before they came to live round the source of the Bae. If we were to believe in the myth of the village of Pamona the To Bae like most Bare-e Toradja should have come from this place. There is, however, no direct communication between the districts at the source of the R. Bae and the Poso Lake in the west. It seems more likely that the

¹⁾ Must be Tomori Bay.

ancestors of the To Bae penetrated into their present district from the south, following some valley running from the Pada Plain toward the north. The Pada Plain they no doubt gained by following the valley of the Kadata and the Laa.

The To Bae do not seem to have been closely related to their neighbours in the west, the To Lage, since they had to fight many a battle with this tribe. Perhaps this contributed to drive the To Bae from their old dwelling places further toward the north and the NE. According to Kruijt the To Lage are said to have possessed part of the district at the source of the Bae. Whether the To Lage or the To Bae were first in possession of this land is not quite clear from what Adriani and Kruijt write of it, but probably they mean that the To Lage came after the To Bae. They write as follows:

»Volgens de verhalen moeten hier (Lipoe mPoeë, the old chief village of the To Bae) vroeger Tolage hebben gewoond, die uit hun land waren uitgezwerm en hier hunne dorpen en tuinen hadden aangelegd. . . De gesten der vroegere bewoners van dit land (the To Bae?), die het om eene voor ons onbekende reden hebben verlaten, heeten nog steeds op deze vlakte rond te dolen.»

To Lalaeo.

Map 22.

NE. of Oeë Koeli on the coast of the NE. peninsula lives a tribe called the To Lalaeo which means the people living in the east. In the Lalaeo language *lala* is said to mean red and *eo* day, thus Lalaeo may be rendered by the sunrise.

Formerly the main part of this tribe seem to have lived on the slopes of the mountains extending almost to the coast. At present they are brought together at some villages on the coast.

About the origin of the To Lalaeo Adriani and Kruijt have nothing to tell. They mention, however, that the natives belonging to this tribe have to a great extent left their own district. Kruijt says the following:

»Ook van de To Lalaeo-stam moeten vele leden naar andere plaatsen zijn verhuisd. . . Zoo hebben zich velen hunner gevestigd aan de Golf van Tolo, zooals te Tokala.»

According to Adriani and Kruijt the To Lalaeo should be classed with the so called Bare-e speaking Toradja, although they do not speak proper Bare-e, their negation being *aoende-e*. I shall come back to this question in the summary and at the same time point out some facts possibly denoting this tribe as having come from Central Celebes, as well as the circumstances under which their migration took place.

To Ampana, To Wana.

Map 22.

NE. of the To Lalaeo we find on the coast almost as far as to Tandjoeng Api as well as in the valley of the R. Bongka a Toradja tribe called To Ampana. Somewhat east of Tandjoeng Api there seem to be some Ampana colonies on the coast. In the mountain districts in the interior of the NE. peninsula there are said to live some natives belonging to the tribe of the To Ampana. Round the source of the Bongka we find some natives called To Wana which means »the men of the forest». This is no special tribe, only some to Ampana scattered in the mountain forests. Kruijt writes the following of the To Ampana:

»In de vallei van de Bongka-rivier, . . hebben zich To Ampana gevestigd. Na de komst van het Gouvernement hebben zij zich samengetrokken in hunne dorpen Bongka Soa ('leeg Bongka'), aan den linkeroever der Bongka, in Bin-

tori, Karato ngKananga, Karoepea ('vleermuizenplaats'), alle aan den rechteroever, en in Bone Bae ('groot land'), aan den linkeroever. In 1906 telden zij in dit gebied ruim 5000 zielen, maar sedert zijn weer een aantal, het geregelde leven moede, de bosschen ingegaan. . . Verder vond men langs de geheele kust Noordwaarts, maar nergens ver het binnenland in, nederzettingen van To Ampana, de meesten boven Rato.»

As to the To Wana, Kruijt only writes the following:

»In het woeste bergland aan den bovenloop der Bongka-rivier woonen nog vele Toradja's, die aangeduid worden met den naam van To Wana, 'boschmensen'. Zij zijn echter niet anders dan To Ampana, die wars van allen regel en dwang, in de bergen blijven rondzwerven.»

In 1919 these natives were visited by the Dutch controller from Poso who told me he had made some researches, but his results are unknown to me.

In all probability the To Ampana and the To Wana have come from Central Celebes, but the time of their migration to the NE. peninsula is not known, nor the way by which they gained their present district. It may be that they followed the northern coast of the peninsula toward Tandjoeng Api and even somewhat beyond this cape, the majority, however remaining west of Tandjoeng Api, and part of them going up the country, following the valley of the Bongka. It seems, however more likely that this tribe first gained the valley of the R. Soemara north of the Tomori Bay and from there made their way to the source of the Bongka.

Adriani and Kruijt class the To Ampana among the Bare-e Toradja, but they mention that there are certain peculiarities by which their language differs from the genuine Bare-e language at the same time as in some points it agrees with the language of the To Poeoe mBoto. The relation between the To Ampana and the the other Toradja tribes thus seems to be uncertain. I am later to come back to this question.

Summary of the migrations of the Poso Toradja.

Map 23.

The investigation that has been carried on as to the migrations of each tribe belonging to the Poso Toradja shows that on the whole these migrations went from the south toward the north, finally diverging toward the NW. and the NE. Now and then we notice a departure from the rule, the colonies of a mother village not always being founded in a northerly direction from that village.

The migration toward the north seems to have begun somewhere in the tracts west of Lake Matano, or in the plain west and NW. of Malili. From here the migrating tribes, passing the chain of Takolekadjoe gained the area that is drained by the river-system the sources of which are found on the northern slope of this range.

Following the valleys of the Kodina and the Kadata the natives proceeded toward the north. Presumably only a smaller portion over the Kodina Valley reached Lake Poso where, under the name of To Lamoesa, they took possession of the country at the SE. corner of the Lake as well as of the mountain slopes east of the lower part of the Kodina.

Natives belonging to this branch probably went on along the eastern bank of Lake Poso, being the ancestors of the To Wisa, the To Boejoe, and the To Longkea.

Possibly some natives from the SE. corner of Lake Poso went on toward the NE., crossing the mountains and finally gaining the Masewe Valley. It seems, however, more likely to me that these tracts were peopled by the tribes that proceeded toward the north along the Kadata Valley. These tribes presumably followed the slopes of the mountains on the right bank of the Kadata to its mouth in the Laa near the place where the latter river leaves the extensive Walati Plain.

From this place the migrating tribes chiefly followed

two courses, proceeding toward the NE. on the banks of the Laa and toward the NW. along the Walati Plain.

Whether the To Langgeani, once so powerful a tribe, the To Tawoealongi and the natives living in the SE. corner between the Kadata and the Laa, are descendants of these immigrants is impossible to say at present.

However it be, the easterly branch of the migrating tribes chiefly proceeded along the slopes of the southern bank of the Laa, finally gaining the Pada Valley, part of which they took in possession and cultivated. Over this plain they more and more spread toward the east, penetrating into the valleys that, coming from the north, open into the Pada Plain in the south.

The natives seem especially to have followed the valley of the Koese River until they came near the source of the Baoe. Here they developed into a powerful tribe, the To Baoe, who later for some reason or other migrated still further toward the NE. to the mountain districts between the Tomini Gulf and the Tomori Bay. Here they experienced severe reverses by war and finally this tribe has disappeared.

Possibly the To Toraoe belong to this easterly branch but if so they did not migrate toward the NE. but more or less straight toward the north from the Laa Plain to the Tomini Gulf. Their migration, as we know, did not end when they reached the coast, but they went on crossing the sea until they arrived at the Togian Islands in the NE. and at Parigi in the NW.

Whether the ancestors of the To Lalaeo, the To Ampana and the To Wana proceeded along the same route to the NE. peninsula is uncertain. It may be that they came more from the west, gaining the NE. peninsula before the To Baoe left their settlement at the source of the Baoe.

The main part of the migrating people coming from the south presumably followed the slopes of the mountains

bordering the Walati Plain, at that time not yet a plain but a comparatively large and shallow lake. The majority seem to have settled west of this hypothetical lake from where they presumably spread over the Masewe Valley and possibly to the tracts east of the Valley.

The migrating people proceeded still further toward the north until they reached the sources of the Tomasa. In the districts on the Tomasa and between this river and the northern part of the Walati Valley, the population increased in number so much that they were obliged to look out for more land to cultivate. Consequently they spread in all directions where they could find suitable ground. Possibly enemies, advancing from the south, hurried on this spread, the consequence of which was that the population was severed into a number of tribes, each tribe finally settling within a limited district.

Among these tribes we notice especially the To Wingke mPoso who took possession of a district situated north and NE. of Lake Poso; the To Pebato who occupied the country further to the north, chiefly on the western bank of the R. Poso down to the coast; the To Lage, the majority of whom like the To Rompoe stopped on the upper R. Tomasa but by and by advanced toward the north until they gained the Tomini Gulf. Among these tribes were also the To Peladia and perhaps the To Kadomboekoe. Presumably the To Ondae also belong to these tribes, only they seem to have been the first tribe that rose to a more independent position than their neighbours. It is not impossible that the To Pakambia also are a branch from this centre.

The To Poeoe mBana and the To Palande are recorded as rather young tribes, being branches of the To Lage and the To Rompoe.

Beside the above mentioned Toradja tribes of eastern Central Celebes there are, as mentioned before, fragments of some tribes, the origin of which is unknown. If we adopt my theory concerning the migrations and spread of the

Toradja tribes in Central Celebes, we may be able to explain what these fractions are. I am coming back to this question in connection with the migrations of the Paloe Toradja.

General Summary.

Map 24. Map 25.

If we sum up the results of this investigation of the migrations of the three big Toradja groups in Central Celebes, the Paloe, the Koro and the Poso Toradja, we shall find that there are two principal routes along which proceeded the migrating tribes. Both routes seem to begin in the SE. in the tracts of Malili on the coast of the Bone Gulf, one of them going toward the NW. to the mountain regions west of Lake Poso, the other first going almost due north, later sending out branches to the NE. as well as to the NW.

The former route was that of the Koro Toradja, the latter no doubt that of the Poso as well as the Paloe Toradja, the latter only seeming to form part of the easterly stream of people and to have moved in front of the Poso Toradja and spread farthestmost to the north and the NW. It may even be questioned whether there is any essential difference between the Paloe and the Poso Toradja, but as long as no systematic anthropological investigation has been made the question, however, will remain unsolved, the study of the languages and the culture not being sufficient to allow any definite conclusions as to the kinship of the groups.

The culture of the Paloe and the Poso Toradja has many characteristics in common at the same time being different to that of the Koro Toradja. The language seems

also to intimate that the Paloe and the Poso Toradja are related. Adriani himself who founded his classification of the languages on certain linguistic peculiarities of the two groups of languages spoken by the Paloe and the Poso Toradja, calls the attention to the strange fact that the Bare-e speaking Toradja easily understand the languages of Parigi, Tawaili and Paloe, i. e. the principal languages of the Paloe Toradja, whereas they have great difficulty in understanding the speeches of the Koro Toradja. Adriani writes the following of it on page 13, Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's»: »Sommige van de W. Toradjasche talen, zooals Parigisch, Tawailisch en Paloesch zijn voor de Bare'e-sprekers veel gemakkelijker te verstaan dan de O. Toradjasche Bergtalen, en worden dan ook m a d a g o 'goed (verstaanbaar)' genoemd.»

To my mind this seems too strange to be a mere casualty and can hardly be explained unless we assume that the Paloe and the Poso Toradja are more closely related to one another than to the Koro Toradja. If the grammar of the Paloe Toradja has some peculiarities not found in the Bare-e languages this may be explained either as some ancient feature still remaining in the languages of the Paloe Toradja, or these languages have adopted some trait originally not belonging to the Toradja languages. As the case may be here only a philologist will be able to decide.

As to the origin of the Saadang natives I have not much to say as mentioned in the introduction. Their culture seems however to have much in common with that of the other Toradja. This may be explained as a loan of culture, but it may also be that certain elements among the Saadang natives are of the same stock as the rest of the peoples of Central Celebes.

To judge from the representations of the Saadang natives that are found in literature it seems as if the people should comprise two types, one of which might be proper

Toradja. If this is the case this percent have no doubt come from the east. Presumably they followed the coast of the Bone Gulf toward the west and later spread toward the NW. to Rongkong and to the tracts round the sources of the R. Karama. The district on the Karama also may have received a contingent from the east, i. e. from the tracts of Rampi. Kruijt quotes from the Saadang natives a legend touching upon their ideas of the land of their departed intimating such a possibility. Whether the Toradja elements living in the valley of the River Saadang came from the district of Rongkong or straight from the coast of the Bone Gulf I cannot say.

If part of the natives living in the Saadang Valley and in Rongkong are proper Toradja, their nearest kinsmen no doubt are the Koro Toradja, their culture having a good deal in common with that of this group. Then there should be two big groups of Toradja: one comprising the Koro and the Saadang Toradja, another embracing the Paloe and the Poso Toradja. It is not necessary or would even be just to introduce any new names for these groups as long as we do not know anything for certain as to the kinship of the Saadang natives and the Toradja.

During the time of the migrations of the Toradja in Central Celebes now one tribe, now another has had a period of great power and influence. Of some of these tribes only remain small fractions, others seem altogether to have disappeared, having been absorbed by other more vigorous tribes.

In this book the cause of these changes have not been investigated, we only notice that, when a tribe dilapidated, sometimes a small fraction of it settled at one place, another fraction at another place, perhaps quite distant from the former. This was for instance the case of the To Pajapi. The fragments of this tribe, once so powerful, we find at three different places: on the coast of the Tomini

Gulf where they lived when they were crushed by their neighbours, in the small district of Tawaelia in the interior of Central Celebes, and at Boedoe Boedoe south of Donggala on the coast of the Macassar Strait. Another such tribe was the To Toraoe who finally left Central Celebes.

If we study the distribution of the languages of Central Celebes we find that sometimes there is in the east and in the west languages the negation of which is similar or even the same, possibly indicating two branches or two fractions of a tribe. On Map 25 I have marked the districts where these languages are spoken and in the table below some of these parallels are brought together.

	In the west				In the east		
	Tribe	District	Negation		Tribe	District	Negation
Paloe Toradja	The To Lole and	West of the Paloe Bay	<i>Oende</i>	Poso Toradja	The To Lalaeo	Todjo	<i>Aoende-e</i>
	The To Ganti	West of the To Lole	<i>Ndeporoe</i>		The To Pada	South Boengkoe	<i>Oende-e Nde-e</i>
	The To Saesoe	Saesoe	<i>Ta a</i>		The To Ampana	Ampana	<i>Taa</i>
	The To Tawaelia	Tawaelia	<i>Baria</i>		The To mBelala	South Boengkoe	<i>Baria</i>
Koro Toradja	The To Benahoe	Benahoe	<i>Aria</i>		The To R-pangkaka	At the mouth of the R. Bongka	<i>Aria</i>

Adriani in his linguistic investigation of the languages of Central Celebes has not disserted upon this question. Only of the two Baria languages he utters that they have nothing to do with each other. He does not give any reasons for this assumption, only saying the following on

page 14 of Vol. III of »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's»: »Dat deze Baria-taal (the Baria of the To mBelala) eene geheel andere moet zijn dan het op bl. 10 genoemde, tot de W. Toradjasche talen behorende Baria, wordt hier ten overvloede nog eens opgemerkt.»

I cannot help that I am not convinced that the two tribes speaking the two Baria languages could not be related to each other. Conceivably such a small tribe as the Baria speaking To mBelala, according to Adriani only about 500 persons, in the course of time have not been able to keep their original language which by and by no doubt has accomodated itself to the languages of the tribes in the neighbourhood, adopting their stock of words. In spite of all foreign influence the language may yet have been able to keep some of its original characteristics one of which was perhaps the negation.

Moreover, the language of the To mBelala is such that Adriani classifies it as a branch detached from the proper Bare-e languages. As the To mBelala are related to the Bare-e speakers we may assume that they once lived in the neighbourhood of the Poso Lake. The Baria speaking To Tawaelia are, as we know, the descendants of the To Pajapi who in all probability originally lived NE. of Lake Poso. Thus it may be that both tribes once lived near Lake Poso.

There is something else speaking in favour of the presumption that the two tribes have an origin in common. The To Pajapi were as we know of a fighting disposition. The intestine quarrels certainly more than once resulted in part of the tribe leaving their country and settling elsewhere, as the To Tawaelia and the natives of Boedoe Boedoe did. For this reason it would not be astonishing if we should find a Baria speaking fraction also in the eastern part of Celebes.

In the same way it is conceivable that the *Ta-a* speaking To Saesoe and the *Taa* speaking To Ampana have

the same origin. We may also conceive that the *Oende* speaking To Lole and the *Ndepoeoe* speaking To Ganti are related to the *Aoende-e* and *Nde-e* speaking To Lalaeo and To Pada in Boengkoe.

How it is with the other languages in the east and in the west that resemble each other I do not know, but I want to mention that the negation of the Benahoe language in the west is *aria* as well as that of the To Rapangkaka in the east. In Behoa I heard the natives generally using the negation of *nonori* (the accent on the last syllable), not mentioned by Adriani, Kruijt, Schuijt or Ten Kate. Almost the same negation seems to be found in Mekongka in the SE. peninsula of Celebes, where the negation is *norio*.

Finally I want to remind my reader of the kinship that Adriani and Kruijt presume to exist between the To Ampana and the To Wana on one side and the To Poeoe mBoto and To Saloe Maoge on the other. Adriani writes the following on page 26 and 27: »Alleen valt hier nog te wijzen op de punten van overeenkomst, die het Ampansch heeft met het ... Poe'oe mBoto'sch. ... Ook eenige woorden van dagelijksch gebruik, die van het Bare'e verschillen, hebben het Amp. en P. m B. gemeen, bv. *naile* 'morgen', (demail), Bar. *rane o*; *bae* 'groot', B. *bangke*; *mata o*, 'goed', B. *madago*; *baeli* 'gestampte rijst', B. *wea o*; *marade* 'lang', B. *marate*; *ia woero*, *ia wengi* 'des morgens, des avonds', B. *mowoero*, *mawengi*; *wei* 'hoe, hoedanig', Bar. *koedja*; *ika* 'doen, maken', Bar. *wia*; *pika* 'uitgedoofd, gebluscht', B. *mate*; *paropo* 'geneesmiddel', B. *pakoeli*.»

His reasons, however, do not seem altogether convincing to me since some of these words as *naile* and *ia wengi* also are found with other tribes as for instance the To Koelawi. This does not mean that the kinship presumed by Adriani and Kruijt does not exist, only the question needs to be further examined.

Although I have not been able to give any proofs of

a kinship between these tribes in the east and in the west, the negation of which is the same or similar, I think there are reasons intimating such a kinship and it would perhaps be worth while investigating the question.

When we study all these migration of the Toradja in Central Celebes and adjacent parts of the Island we cannot avoid making the question: what was the cause of the migrations and when did they take place?

If the old literature has anything to tell I do not know, not having had access to so old authors that they can be expected to contain anything of importance to my topic. As to the date of the migrations it is however evident that the migrations were still going on during the 18th and the 19th centuries. To judge from Valentijn's communications at the beginning of the 18th century the Toradja at that time had taken possession of Central Celebes. The great invasion of these tribes thus must have taken place at a much earlier period.

Certain parts of Central Celebes seem to have been rather densely populated already at the beginning of the 18th century since Valentijn writes the following of the tracts south of the village of Poso:

»Agter dit Posso, wat land-waart in leggen niet alleen de gemelde berg- en yser-dorpen; maar ook Tonappo, Ontondano, en meer andere, wel tot in de dertig toe, die als vrye volkeren, alle onder hun eigen dorp-hoofden staan, die schone vlakten over 't gebergte bewoonen, *doch zo volkrijk, dat vele dezer dorpen, by gebrek van genoegzaam brandhout, drooge mist moeten gebruiken.*»¹⁾

Valentijn's communications of Paloe intimate that already 200 years ago the Paloe Valley was well cultivated and densely populated. He writes as follows:

»Het land van Paloe rondom, tot aan 't gebergte toe,

¹⁾ Printed in italics by the writer of this book.

is een schoon land even eens als Holland, zynde vlak, hebbende een zwarte kleiagtige grond; ook legt het rondom tuschen tamelyke hooge bergen, en is met duizenden van cocosboomen beplant. Dit geeft een uitnemend fraai gezigt op des zelfs aangename velden, die vol allerlei vee, en met koe-beesten, buffels, peerden, schaapen, bocken en allerlei wildgedierte vervult zyn. Voornamelyk leveren die een groote menigte van Padi and ryst uit.»

Presumably the chief reason of the migrations was the necessity of finding new ground to cultivate, but very likely other circumstances contributed to the spread of the tribes, sometimes making it more rapid, sometimes delaying it. Such circumstances no doubt were mutual fights, failure of crops, diseases, attacks of foreign tribes, overpeopled villages and districts.

Especially the tracts NE. of Lake Poso seem once to have harboured so numerous a population that it became necessary for them to leave the vicinity of the Lake and seek their living elsewhere. In this way the natives split into a number of tribes, pressing on other tribes who consequently had to move in their turn.

The reason why the Toradja originally left the tracts of the NE. corner of the Bone Gulf may also have been that these tracts were overpeopled. Conceivably the pressure of the powerful Boeginese became so strong that the Toradja on a large scale left these tracts.

Diseases no doubt not only decimated the population but they may also have scattered it. The natives have several legends of epidemics having nearly rooted out the inhabitants of certain villages and districts.

Hissink says that cholera as well as smallpox more than once ravaged among the natives of the Paloe Valley. At the end of 1918 the so called Spanish influenza visited Central Celebes. Its victims were numerous, twenty percent and at some places still more. In a small village between Koe-lawi and Gimpoe nobody was spared.

During this epidemic the natives fled to the mountains, hoping to escape the evil spirits who were believed to bring the illness over the country. Nowadays that the country is ruled by the Dutch such a flight hardly would result in the splitting of a tribe, but this may have been the case formerly when the natives were free to do as they pleased and when their acts were based on all sort of superstition.

Maps.

1. Unbroken and broken double lines on the maps 1, 2, and 3 indicate the boundaries between the different Toradja groups.
2. Unbroken double lines, one of which is thicker than the other, indicate the rather certain routes along which the Toradja tribes migrated.
3. Broken double lines one of which is thicker than the other indicate a route as uncertain. A mark of interrogation denote a route as especially uncertain.
4. A black rectangular or irregular, straight-lined figure indicates a modern village, built after a scheme decreed by the Dutch authorities.
5. A black circular figure indicates as a rule an ancient villages still inhabited.
6. A ring indicates an ancient village, at present abandoned.
7. A cross indicates the supposed site of an ancient village.

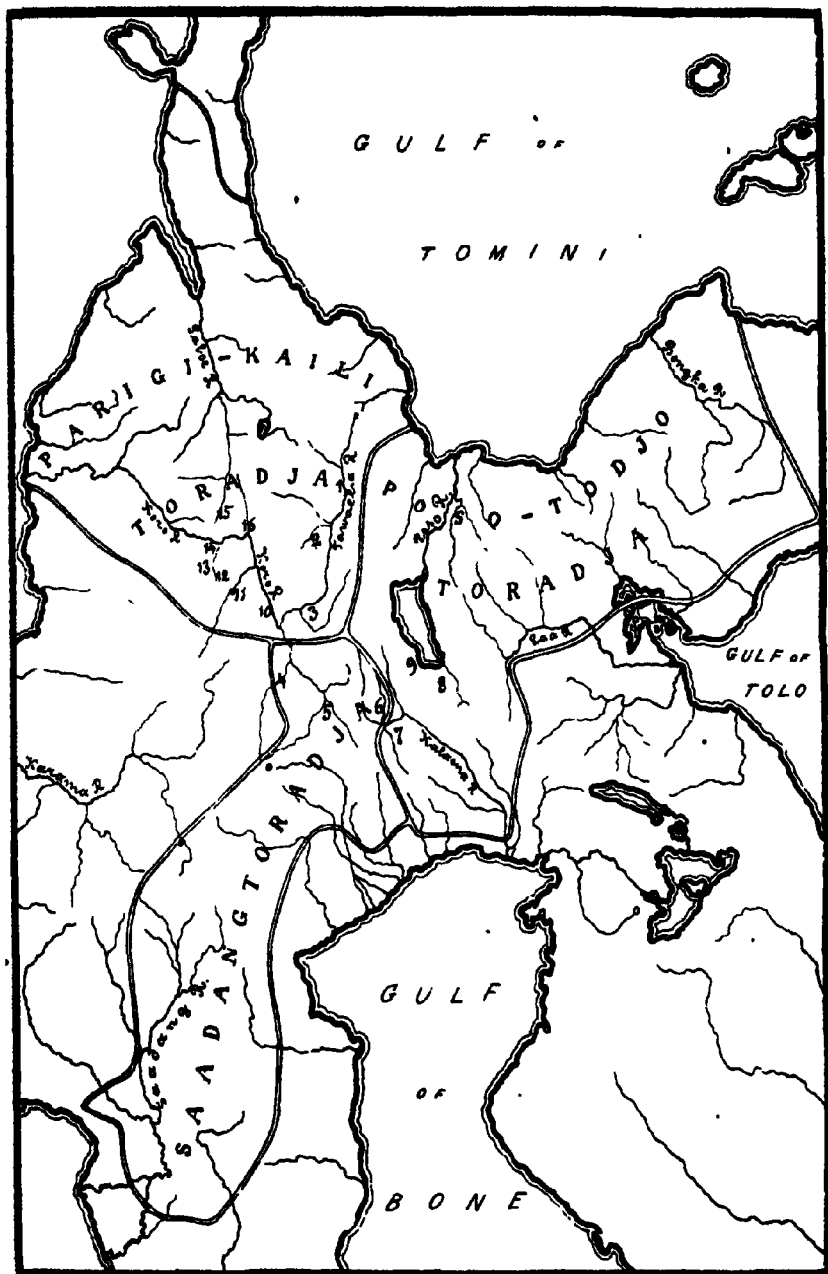
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Map 1.

Scale 1:2 500,000.

Distribution of the Parigi-Kaili, the Poso-Todjo and the Saadang groups of Toradja languages acc. to Kruijt in »De Bare'e-Sprekende Toradja's» Vol. I, page 4 and 5.

- 1 — To Napoe
 - 2 — To Behoa
 - 3 — To Bada
 - 4 — To Rampi
 - 5 — To Leboni
 - 6 — To Rato
 - 7 — To Saloe Maoge
 - 8 — To Poeoe mBoto
 - 9 — To Bantjea
 - 10 — To Bokoe
 - 11 — To Benahoe
 - 12 — To Peana
 - 13 — To Kantewoe
 - 14 — To Tole
 - 15 — To Winatoe
 - 16 — To Gimpoe
-

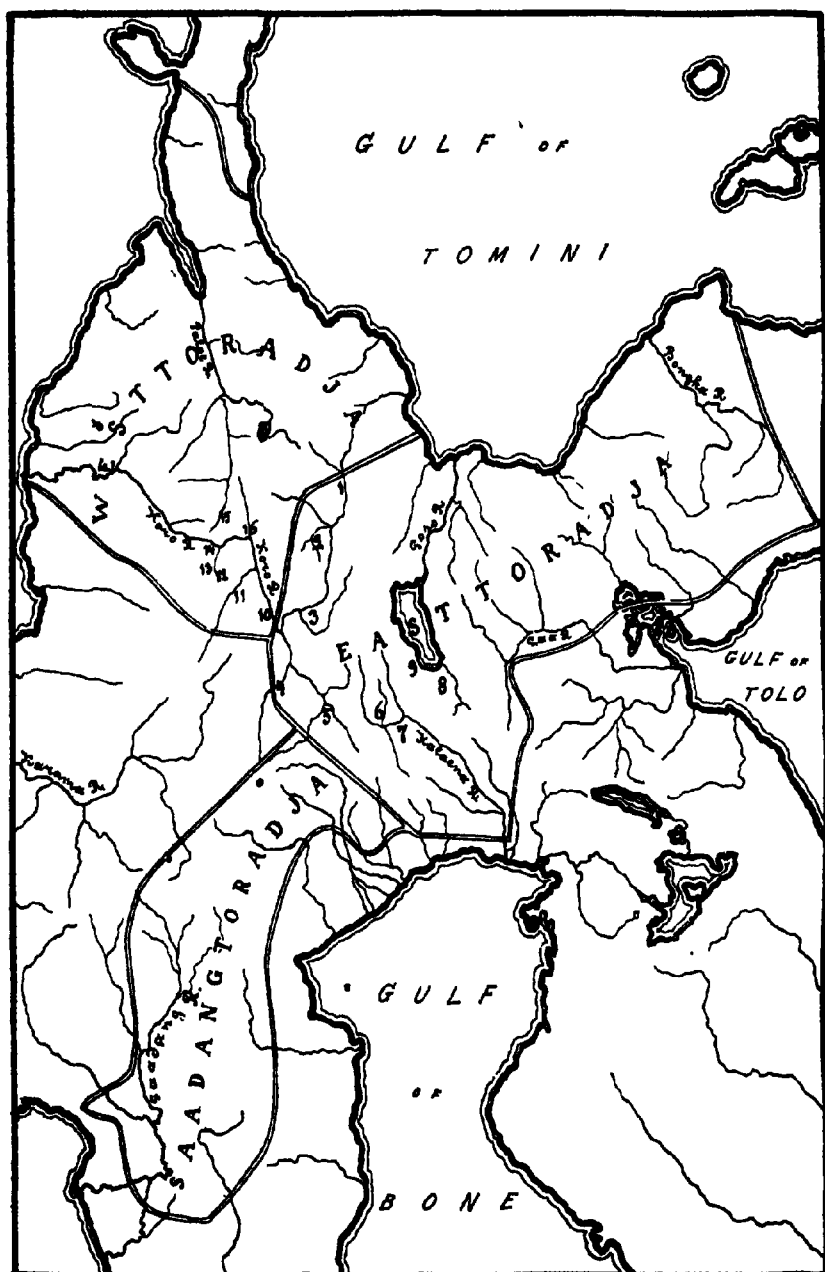


Map 2.

Scale 1 : 500 000

Distribution of the West Toradja, the East Toradja, and the Saadang Toradja languages acc. to Adriani in »De Baree-Sprekende Toradja's« Vol. III, page 4 and Adriani's linguistic map.

- 1 — To Napoe
- 2 — To Behoa
- 3 — To Bada
- 4 — To Rampi
- 5 — To Leboni
- 6 — To Rato
- 7 — To Saloe Maoge
- 8 — To Poeoe mBoto
- 9 — To Bantjea
- 10 — To Bokoe
- 11 — To Benahoe
- 12 — To Peana
- 13 — To Kantewoe
- 14 — To Tole
- 15 — To Winatoe
- 16 — To Gimpoe

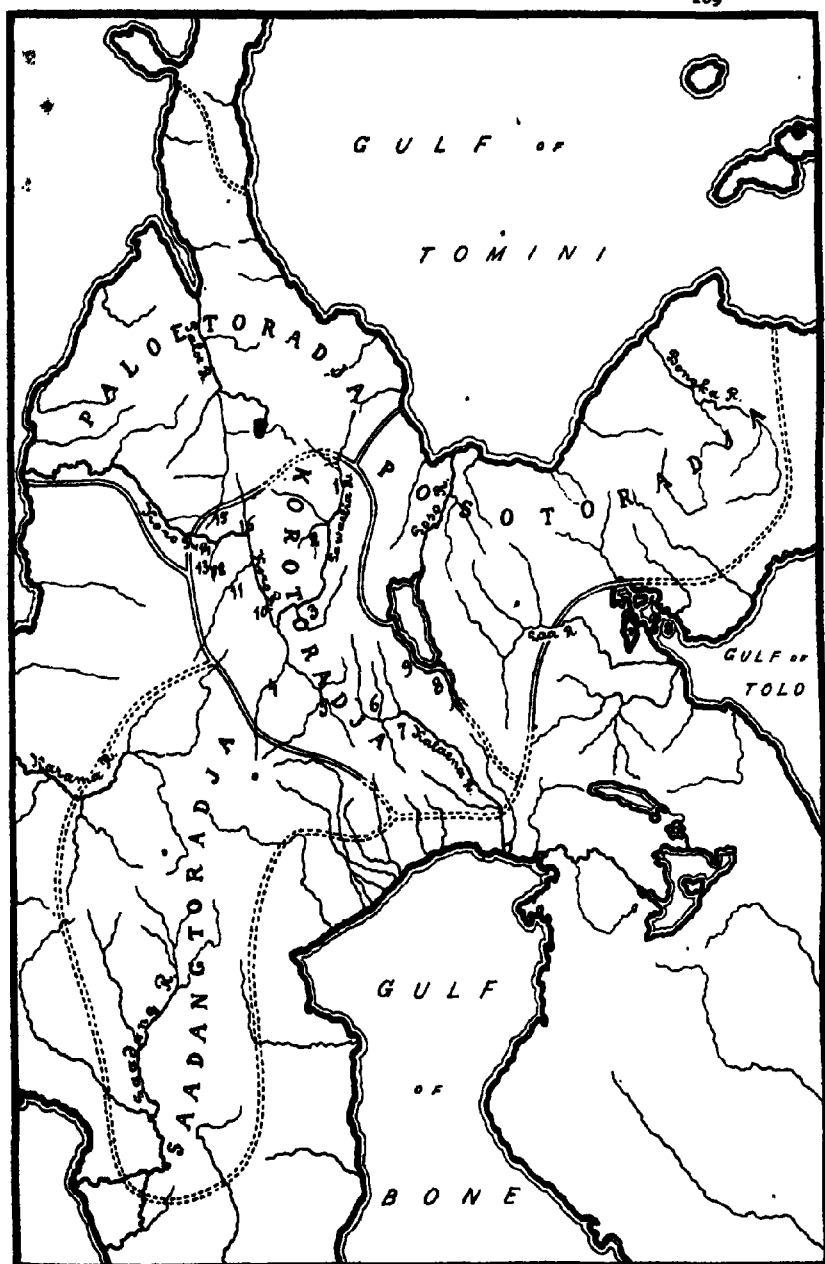


Map 3.

Scale 1 : 2 500 000.

*Distribution of the Paloc, Koro, Poso, and Saadang Toradja
acc. to the writer of this book.*

- 1 — To Napoe
- 2 — To Behoa
- 3 — To Bada
- 4 — To Rampi
- 5 — To Leboni
- 6 — To Rato
- 7 — To Saloe Maoge
- 8 — To Poeoe mBoto
- 9 — To Bantjea
- 10 — To Bokoe
- 11 — To Benahoe
- 12 — To Peana
- 13 — To Kantewoe
- 14 — To Tole
- 15 — To Winatoe
- 16 — To Gimpoe



Map 4.

Scale 1 400 000

Migrations of the To Lindoe.

- I. The presumed immigration of the To Lindoe in pre-historic time when Lake Lindoe was bigger than it is nowadays and emptied by the Haloea.
- II. The time after the diminution of Lake Lindoe when the natives lived on the Lindoe Island.
- III. The settlements of Lindoe about 1900. The village of Oloe is not marked on the map since I do not know whether it was situated on the northern or on the southern bank of the River Oloe.
- IV. The settlements of Lindoe in 1918- 1919.

Map 5.

Scale: I. 1:400 000; II. 1:2 500 000; III. 1:133 333.

Migrations of the To Koelawi.

- I. Shows the presumed route along which the To Koelawi have migrated and spread as well as the NE. part of the district of Bada that often was visited with war by the To Koelawi.
Presumably on this map Lake Lindœ should be of the same size as on map 4. I.
- II. Shows the position of Koelawi in NW. Central Celebes as well as Onka and Toli Toli in N. Celebes where To Koelawi have settled.
- III. The valley basin of Koelawi with its villages.

Map 6.

Scale 1:400 000.

*Migrations of the To Tamoengkolowi, the To Tobakoe, and
the To Banggakoro.* •

Map 7.

Scale I. 1. 400 000; II. 1: 2 500 000.

Migrations of the To Tawaelia (To Pajapi).

- I. Shows the migration from the tracts NW. of Lake Poso to Tawaelia.
- II. Shows the presumed migration to Boedoe Boedoe south of Donggala. Boedoe Boedo is not given on any map that has been at my disposal.

Map 8.

Scale I 1 2 500 000, II. 1.1 000 000.

*Migrations of the To Saocsoe, the To Balinggi, the To Dolago,
and the To Parigi.*

P are Parigi colonies.

L are places where Ledo is spoken.

Map 9.

Scale 1 400 000.

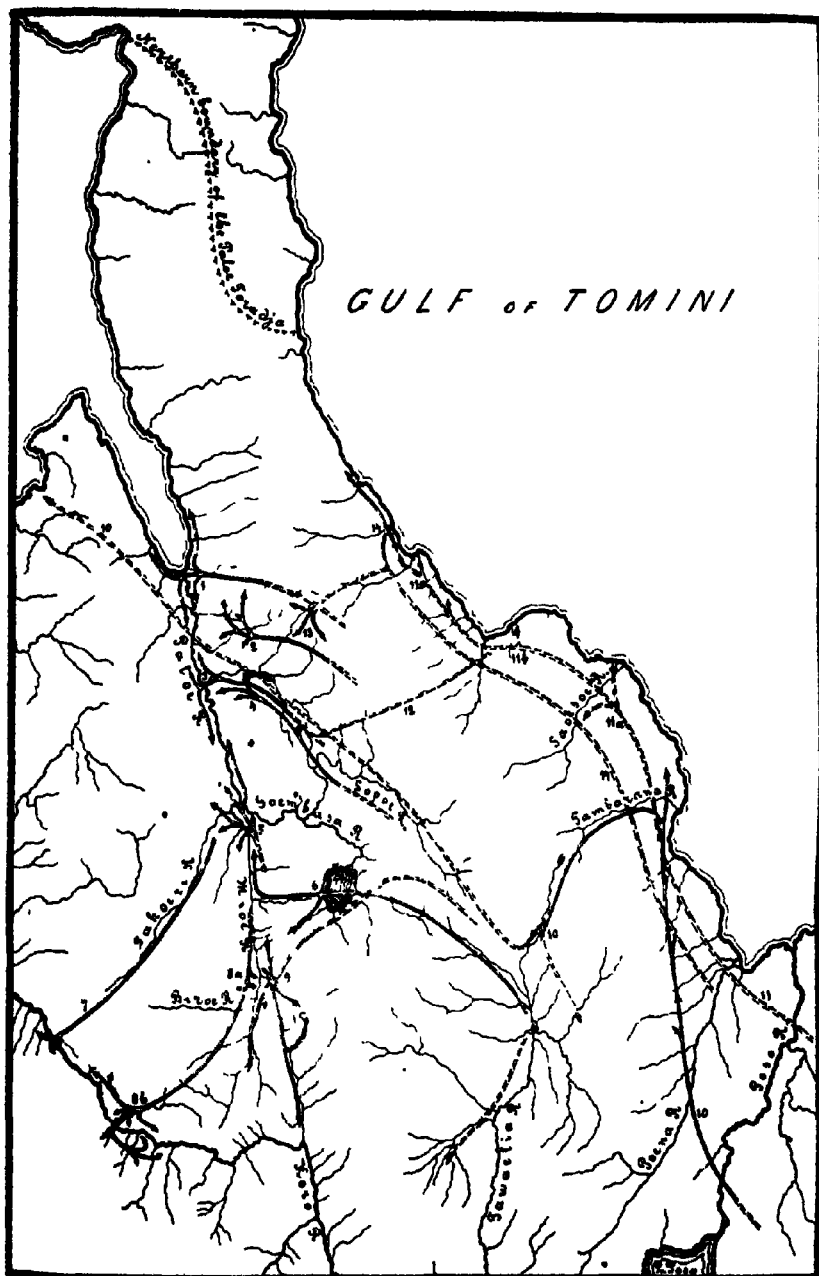
Migrations of the To Paloe, the To Biromaroe, the To Ranggonaoe, the To Dolo, the To Sigi, the To Pakoeli, the To Bangga, the to Baloease, the To Sibalaja and the To Sidondo.

Map 10.

Scale 1 1 000 000

Summary of the migrations of the Paloe Toradja.

- 1 — To Paloe.
- 2 — To Biromaroe.
- 3 — To Dolo.
- 4 — To Sigi.
- 5 — To Pakoeli, To Bangga, To Baloease, To Sibalaja, To
Sidondo.
- 6 — To Lindoe.
- 7 — To Banggakoro.
- 8a — To Tamoengkolowi
- 8b — To Tobakoe.
- 9 — To Koelawi
- 10 — To Tawaelia (To Pajapi)
- 11a — To Saoesoe.
- 11b — To Balinggi.
- 11c — To Dolago.
- 12 — To Petimbe.
- 13 — To Raranggonaoe.
- 14 — To Parigi.



Map 11.

Scale I 1 400 000, II. 1 2 500 000, III IV. 1:200 000

Migrations of the To Pipikoro.

- I. Shows the presumed migration along the Koro and its tributaries.
- II. Shows the position of Pipikoro in Central Celebes.
- III. The migrations of the To Tole and the To Kantewoe. The cross on top of the Makaj indicates the big stones in the River where the departed are supposed to pass when leaving, Kantewoe.
Harobokoe on the maps and in literature also is spelt Haloebokoe and Saloebokoe.
- IV. The migrations of the To Kantewoe and the To Peana.

Map 12.

Scale. I. 1 400 000, II. 1 2 500 000; III. 1 200 000.

*Migrations of the To Badu, the To Rampi, the To Leboni,
the To Tambaã, and the To Bokoe.*

- I. Shows the routes leading from the source of the Kala-ena toward the Koro and its tributaries.
- II. Shows the Bada colonies in Central Celebes.
- III. The Bada Plain with its villages.

Map 13.

Scale: I. 1:400 000, II. 1:250 000; III—IV. 1:200 000.

Migrations of the To Behoa and the To Napoe.

- I. Shows the migrations within the districts of Behoa and Napoe.
 - II. Shows the position of the districts of Behoa and Napoe in Central Celebes as well as the migration of the To Behoa to Gimpoe.
 - III. The district of Napoe.
 - IV. The district of Behoa.
-

Map 15.

Scale 1:1 000 000.

Summary of the migrations of the Koro Toradja.

- 1a— To Saloe Maoge
- 1b— To Poeoe mBoto
- 1c— To Bantjea
- 2 — To Rato
- 3 — To Leboni
- 4 — To Bada
- 5 — To Behoa
- 6 — To Napoe
- 7 — To Rampi
- (8 — To Tappaä and To Bokoe?)
- 9a— To Benahoe
- 9b— To Gimpoe and To Winatoe
- 9c— To Tole
- 9d— To Kantewoe
- 9e— To Peana
- 10 — To Toro (older migration)
- 11 — To Palolo?

Map 16.

Scale I 1 400 000, II, 1:2 500 000.

Migrations of the To Pebato and the To Wingke mPoso.

Map 17.

Scale: I. 1:400 000; II. 1:200 000.

- I. Migrations of the To Lage, the To Kadomboekoe the To Rompoe, the To Peladia, the To Palande, and the To Poeoe mBana.
- II. The districts of Lage and Rompoe.

— — — — —

Map 18.

Scale I. 1:400 000; II. 1:200 000.

*Migrations of the To Lamoesa.
The districts of the To Longkea, the To Wisa and the
To Boejoe.*

Map 19.

Scale: 1:400 000.

- I. Migrations of the To Ondae, the To Tawoealongi, and the To Pakambia. District of the To Langgeani.
- II. The hypothetic lake in the Ondae Plain.

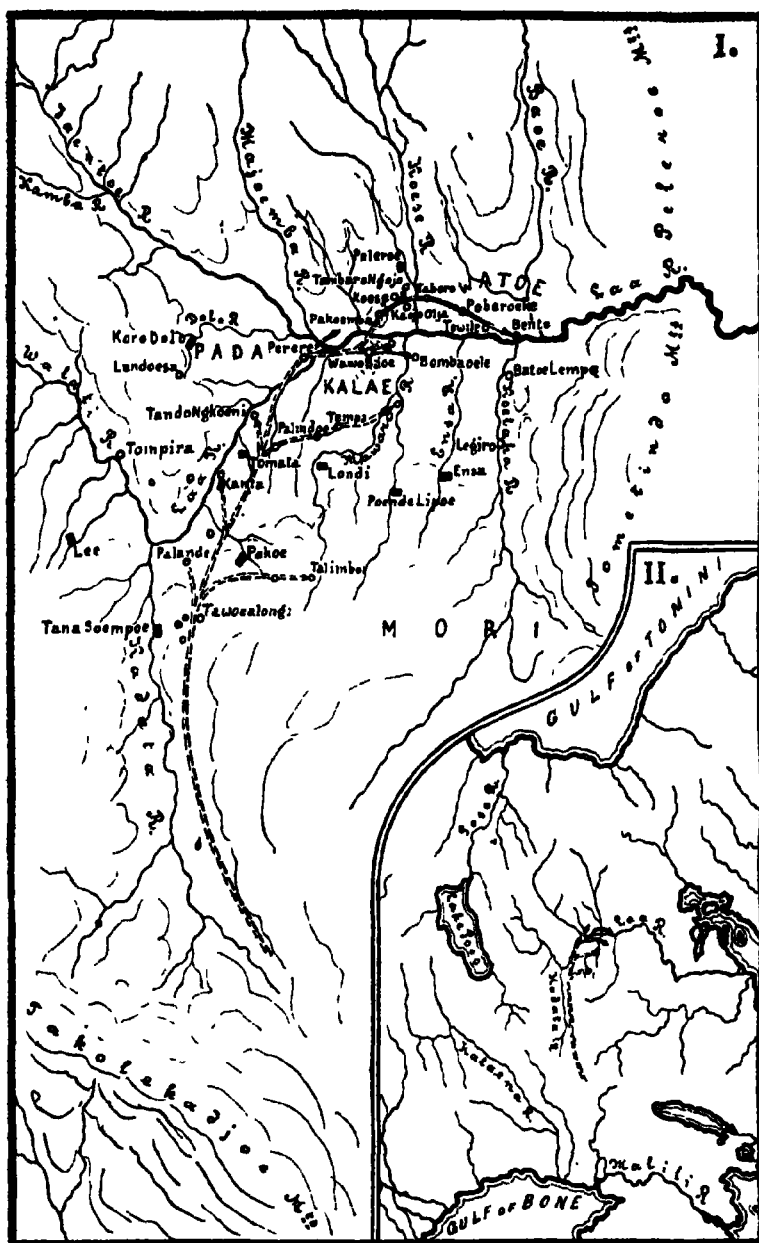
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Map 20.

Scale: I. 1:400 000; II. 1:2 500 000.

*Migrations of the To Pada, the To Watoe, the To Kalae, and
the To Tananda.*

- I. The migrations along the Kadata toward the I,aa
and along this river.
- II. Shows the position of Pada in Central Celebes.



Map 22.

Scale 1: 1000 000

Migrations of the To Lalao, the To Ampana, and the To Wana.

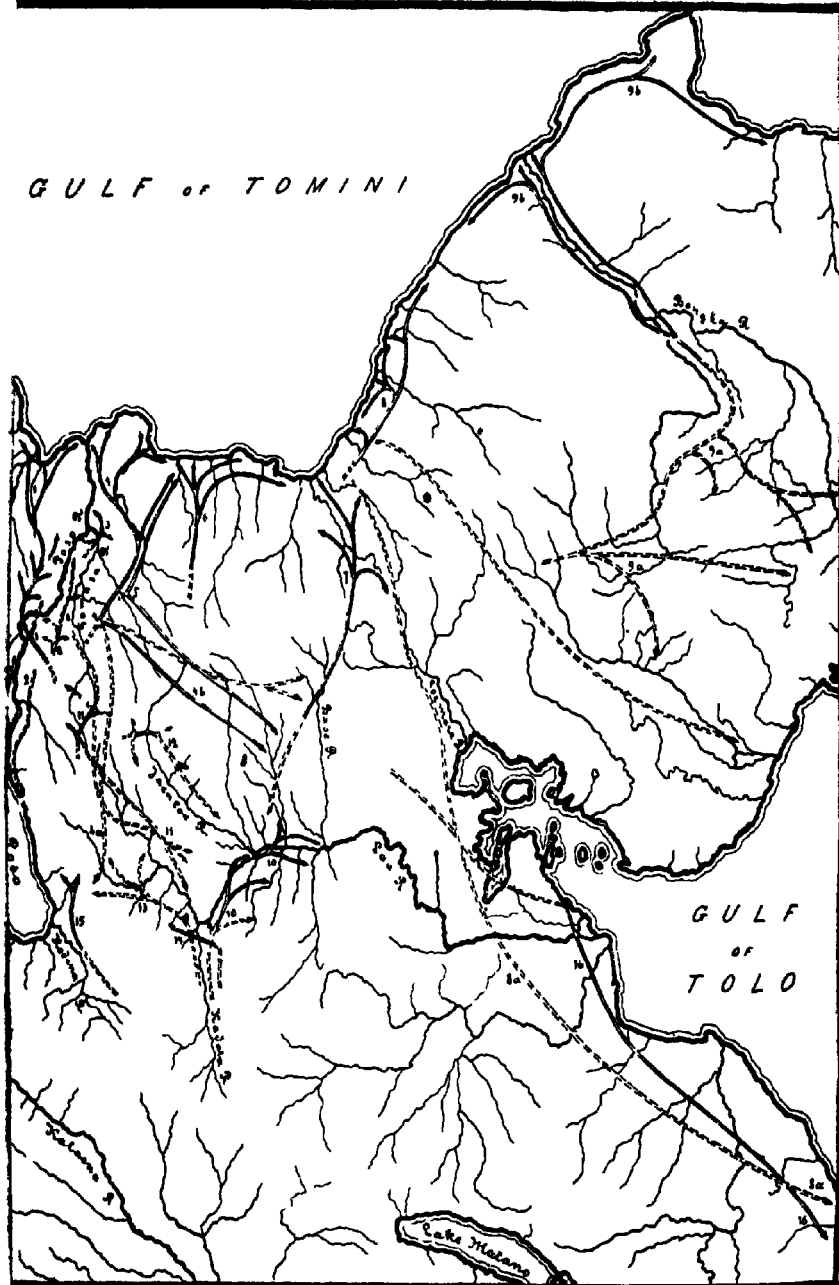
Map 23.

Scale 1:1000 000.

Summary of the migrations of the Poso Toradja.

- 1 — To Pebato.
 - 2 — To Wingke mPoso.
 - 3 — To Kadomboekoe.
 - 4 — To Lage.
 - 4a— To Palande.
 - 4b— To Poeoe mBana (partly).
 - 5 — To Rompoe. To Poeoe mBana (partly).
 - 6 — To Toraoe.
 - 7 — To Bae.
 - 8 — To Lalaeo.
 - 8a— To Pada.
 - 9a— To Wana.
 - 9b — To Ampana.
 - 10 — To Pada, To Watoe, To Kalae, To Tananda.
 - 11 — To Ondae.
 - 12 — To Pakambia.
 - 13 — To Langgeani.
 - 14 — To Tawoealongi.
 - 15 — To Lamoesa.
 - 16 — To mBelala.
-

GULF of TOMINI



Map 24.

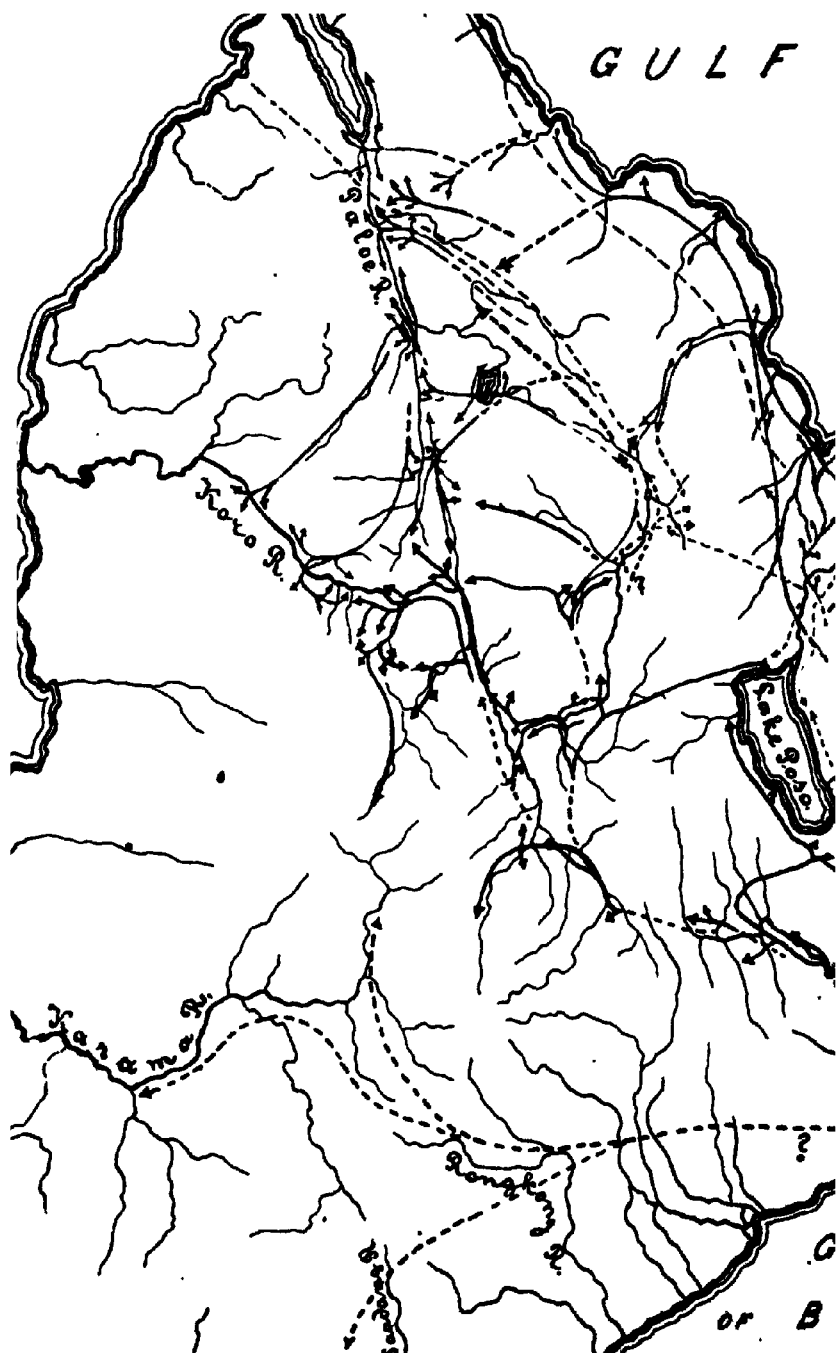
Scale 1:1,250 000

Summary of the migrations of the Toradja in Central Celebes.

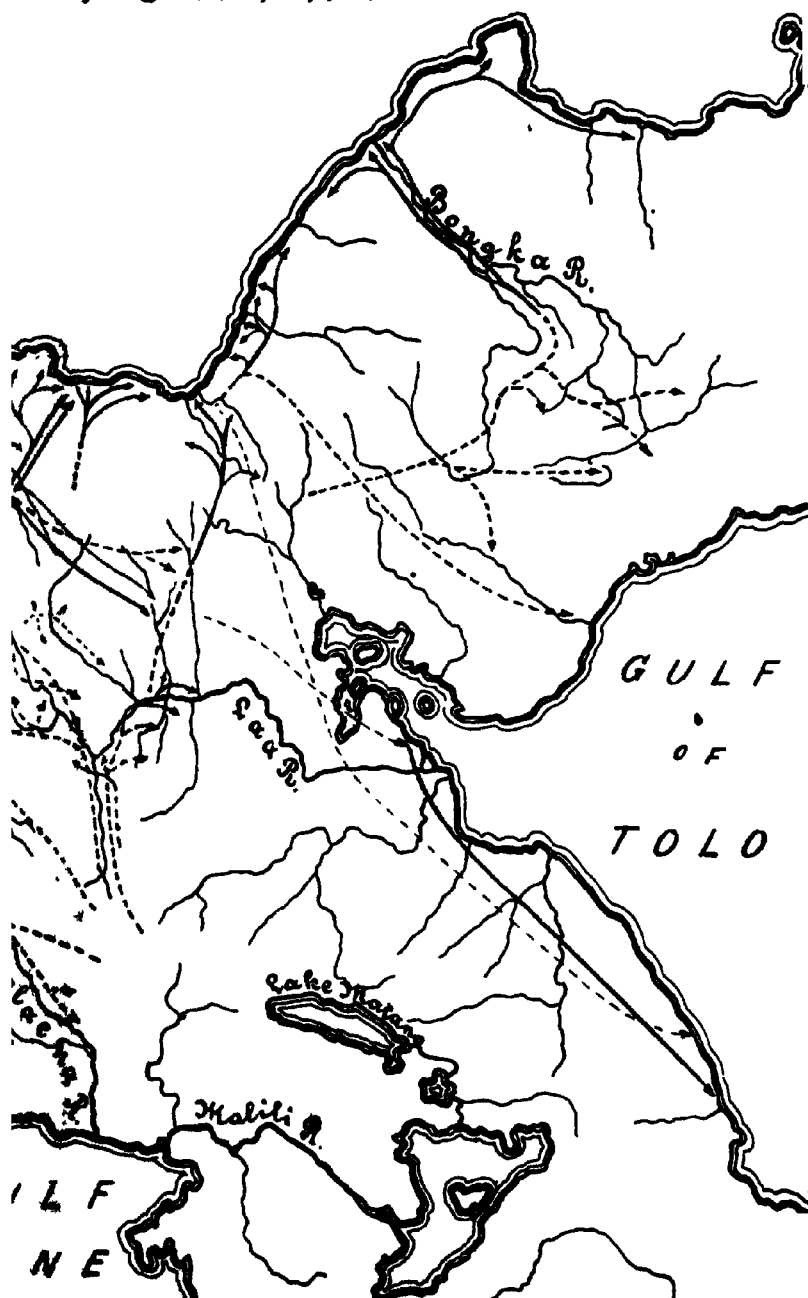
Red lines indicate Paloe and Koro Toradja.

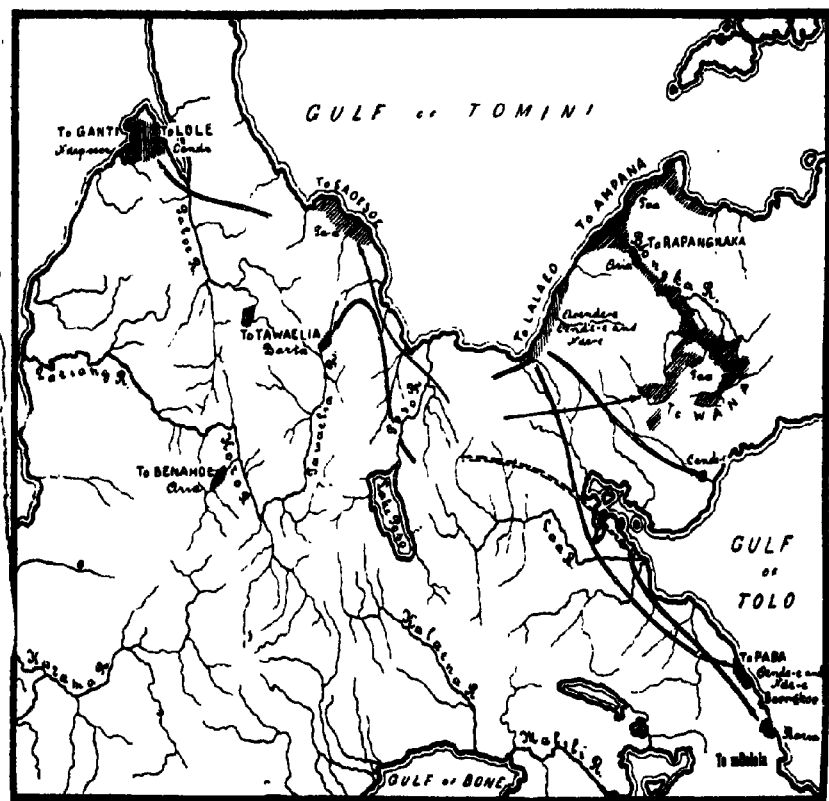
Blue lines indicate Koro and Saadang Toradja.

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